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A

History of the Nonjurors :

THEIR CONTROVERSIES AND WRITINGS;

WITH REMARKS ON SOME OF THE RUBRICS

IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

BY

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OF THE ENGLISH EPISCOPACY FROM 1610
TO 1662," ETC. ETC.

*A. F. Creswell,
R. Feb 26, 1863,
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TO

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,

AND PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND,

UNDER WHOSE WISE AND PRUDENT GOVERNMENT,

THROUGH THE GOOD PROVIDENCE OF GOD,

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

HAS BEEN SUSTAINED AMIDST DIFFICULTIES

UNEXAMPLED IN HER HISTORY IN RECENT TIMES,

THIS VOLUME

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

HIS GRACE'S MOST OBEDIENT


HUMBLE SERVANT

THE AUTHOR.





P R E F A C E.

HE present work originated in the feeling, that the history and principles of the Nonjurors were but very imperfectly known to the public in general. In prosecuting my task I have also deemed it to be my duty to correct the misrepresentations, which, in some cases from ignorance, in others from prejudice, have been so frequently circulated respecting this body of patient sufferers for conscience sake.

An account will be found of many of their works, together with the chief productions which appeared against them, as well as of the controversies in which they were so much engaged.

One portion of the volume will be read with considerable interest. I allude to the correspondence of the Nonjurors with the Greek Church in the east, which, with the exception of some brief extracts, is now for the first time published. For a copy of this correspondence, which is preserved among Bishop Jolly's MSS, I am indebted to the kindness of I. R. Hope,

Esq. D.C.L. Chancellor of the Diocese of Sarum, to whom my best thanks are due.

It was originally my intention to have printed, in an Appendix, some of the Forms used on various occasions by the Nonjurors, especially the new Communion Office : but this was rendered impossible by the size of the volume. Should the present work, however, be favourably received, I may probably publish a separate volume, containing the Forms in question, which are so important in illustrating the principles of the Nonjurors.

The remarks on Mr. Hendley's case were written many weeks before the articles on that subject appeared in the *Times*. It may be remarked in addition, that the Rebellion had recently been suppressed ; and the government of that day chose to consider many of the most faithful of the Clergy as favourers of the Pretender. The trial, being intended to strike terror into the Clergy, may be appealed to as one of the grossest acts of oppression on record. But though the *Times* had given such prominence to the subject, no notice whatever was taken of a printed copy of my remarks, which was forwarded by the Publisher, with a request that it might be inserted ; in order that a fair view might be obtained of the matter. Thus did the *Times* refuse to permit any other view than its own to be put forth through its columns. But perhaps we cannot be surprised

at such an act of injustice, when we take into consideration the vast and sudden change in the principles of that journal. Not long since it condemned such meetings on Church questions as those which have been held in the Diocese of Exeter, which it now approves. The views, therefore, of a paper, in which a petty dispute of a proprietor with the Clergyman of his parish is made a national grievance, and by which a flame is attempted to be kindled throughout the country, are entitled to little consideration.

While the last chapter was going through the press, my attention was directed to a most extraordinary statement in the *Record*. Because the Prayer for the Church Militant has been neglected in many Churches, the editor of the *Record*, a paper professing to be conducted on religious principles, actually designates the use of that Prayer as a *change*. The prayer was enjoined by the Reformers, whom the *Record* boasts of following, and until modern times it was universally read. In Cathedral Churches and College Chapels it is still read on Sundays and holy-days: and on the latter also in all parochial Churches in which the festivals are observed. Of this fact the editor would have been aware, had he been accustomed to attend public worship on such occasions. Whether the Rubric enjoining the Prayer be right or wrong, it was framed by

the Reformers, and to call the use of it a *change*, is disparaging to the memory of those great and holy men.

The same paper also recommends an application to Parliament, the Crown first issuing a commission. But surely the editor of the *Record* cannot imagine that the House of Commons would stop just where he would wish! or that they would be content with rescinding such Rubrics only as he might select. Should the matter ever come before Parliament, changes of a most serious character will be proposed, and probably carried. Whatever may be the *Record's* views of the Liturgy, is the editor prepared to surrender the Articles? Yet were such a suicidal act as that which he recommends to be carried into effect, the Articles would fare no better than the Liturgy. Both would be placed in jeopardy. Besides, is it consistent to recommend the settlement of such questions in such an assembly, an assembly in which Romanists and Socinians, to say nothing of other Dissenters, have seats and votes!

That such a course will be adopted by the present Government I have no apprehension whatever. Sir Robert Peel and all the members of the Cabinet are too warmly attached to the Anglican Church to allow her Articles and Liturgy to be subjected to Parliamentary revision. But the *Record* and the *Times* are

using their exertions, though in different ways, to bring us into a state of confusion.

Much is said of the danger of Popery : but is no danger to be apprehended from any other quarter? Let us suppose that the *Record's* advice were followed, and that the matter were submitted to Parliament ; what would be the danger? Certainly not of Popery. Whatever may be the case with individuals : though their inclinations may be towards Rome, yet the Church is not committed by their acts any more than by the act of certain Clergymen in England in encouraging schism in Scotland. Nor is it within the compass of probabilities, that the Liturgy and the Articles should be altered so as to approximate towards Rome. But on the other hand, should the question be submitted to Parliament, there would too probably be a change of an opposite character, a change, which would so *liberalise* both the Articles and the Liturgy, that Socinians and all others might be comprehended within what must in such a case be deemed, not a Church, but the establishment. The *Record*, in looking to Parliament, knows not what it asks. If changes are once permitted, who can venture to predict where they will end!

The question of the Rubrics arose out of my subject, since the neglect, into which some of them have fallen, may be traced to principles, which had their origin in the period of which this volume treats.

The whole question of the Offertory, both with respect to the law and the benefits to be expected from its general adoption, is most satisfactorily and ably discussed in a recent work, “ *Remarks on English Churches, and on the Expediency of rendering Sepulchral Memorials subservient to Pious and Christian Uses.* By I. H. Markland, F.R.S. and S.A.” Mr. Markland devotes a chapter to the consideration of the subject, and it is treated in a spirit which must commend the work to every candid reader.

Jan. 23, 1845.





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History of the Nonjurors.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.—CAUSES OF THE SCHISM.—PROCEEDINGS OF KING JAMES.—DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE.—CONDUCT OF DISSENTERS; OF THE CLERGY.—CONDUCT OF THE CLERGY AND DISSENTERS CONTRASTED.—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—INVITATION TO THE PRINCE.—THE BISHOP OF LONDON.—THE FABRICATION OF SPEKE.—THE PRINCE UNDERTAKES THE ADMINISTRATION.—VIEWS OF PARTIES.—THE CONVENTION.—DISCUSSIONS.—SETTLEMENT OF THE CROWN. THE QUESTION OF A REGENCY CONSIDERED.—THE VIEWS AND CONDUCT OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

 HE history of the schism in the Church of England, occasioned by the Revolution in 1688, constitutes one of the most interesting chapters in our Ecclesiastical Annals. The views and proceedings of the Nonjurors, from their origin as a party to their extinction, must be contemplated with much interest by members of the Church of England. Few persons are aware how much the cause of religion, as well as of Sacred Literature, was indebted, during the last century, to the exertions of the Nonjurors, who, when they were excluded from the National Church by their scruples respecting the oaths, devoted themselves to useful and laborious study.

Whatever we may think of their views, we cannot deny, that they suffered much for conscience' sake, and that they generally suffered with meekness and in silence, not parading their wrongs, whether real or imaginary, before the public, as was the case with the Nonconformists subsequent to the year 1662.

Much misapprehension exists, even at present, respecting the character and conduct of the Nonjurors. By some persons they are regarded as Romanists: by others as enemies to their country. It will be my aim to give an impartial account of their principles, as well as of their proceedings. At the present time we may come to the consideration of the subject with calmness. We may form a dispassionate judgment of their case, and of the difficulties, in which they were involved. It has been the custom to speak of them as a set of unreasonable men: and should I succeed, in any measure, in correcting these erroneous impressions, I shall feel, that my labour has not been in vain.

As churchmen, indeed, we must regret, that the Nonjurors did not co-operate with the great mass of the Clergy: yet still we must reverence them as men acting conscientiously, and suffering much in the cause, which they espoused. The first race of Nonjurors quitted their preferments, and ended their days in obscurity: while those, who succeeded them, excluded themselves from those distinctions, to which, from their talents and learning, but for the barrier interposed by their scruples, they must certainly have attained.

My first object will be, to trace the causes, which led to such a schism in the Anglican Church. Some of the events, therefore, connected with the Revolution, must be reviewed. Long before the death of

his brother, James, Duke of York, had been reconciled to the Church of Rome—a step to which all his subsequent misfortunes must be attributed. Unlike his brother, he was not so indifferent on the subject of religion as to conceal his opinions. He openly declared himself a Roman Catholic. On his accession, however, he expressed his determination, to maintain and defend the Church of England. Had he been influenced by such a determination, he would undoubtedly have preserved his crown. Many persons were inclined to rely on the King's promise: and probably at the time his Majesty intended to keep his word. It was supposed, that he would be content with the private exercise of his own religious system. There were many inducements for making such a promise. He knew that he was suspected by the Church of England. Recollecting the proceedings connected with the *Exclusion Bill*, he was anxious to make a favourable impression on churchmen, who would not have supported him with zeal, had they foreseen his intentions respecting the establishment of Popery.

It is singular, that the Dissenters, equally with Churchmen, were deceived by his Majesty's promises: the former by his avowal of sentiments respecting liberty of conscience: the latter by his promise of maintaining the Church in her integrity. Churchmen hoped that he would maintain the Church: Dissenters expected an indulgence in their nonconformity. The King's intentions soon became evident to Churchmen. On the other hand, the Dissenters were so delighted with the prospect of indulgence, that they either did not, or would not, see the danger, and consequently remained perfectly quiet during that period of excitement and alarm. While the Clergy commenced

an active warfare against the Church of Rome, the Dissenters flattered and thus deceived his Majesty, by leading him to suppose, that his measures respecting the *Indulgence* were really approved by the people. They contributed nothing whatever towards the support of the great cause which was then in jeopardy.^a

A review of the conduct of Dissenters at this time may be permitted in the present volume, especially as, subsequent to the Revolution, they were the loudest in their complaints of the inconsistency of the Nonjurors. The works published by the Clergy against the Church of Rome will ever remain as a monument of their piety, their zeal, and their learning: but the voice of the Dissenters was not raised in favour of that cause, for which, afterwards, they professed so strong an attachment.

In the year 1687 King James issued his *Declaration of Indulgence*. His object was to favour the Church of Rome through the means of the Dissenters. The Declaration was repeated in 1688, with this addition, that the Bishops were commanded to forward it to their clergy, and to see that it was

^a It would occupy too much space to enter upon all the acts of King James, which evidenced his intention of reestablishing the Church of Rome in this country: but I cannot refrain from alluding to his republication of the little Book of Offices, which, during the reigns of James I and Charles I, had been used by the Missionary Priests in the exercise of their functions in England. The following is the Title of the Book as published by King James: “Ordo Baptizandi aliaque Sacramenta Administrandi et Officia quædam Ecclesiastica rite peragendi ex Rituali Romano Jussu Pauli Quinti Edita extractus. Pro Anglia, Hibernia, et Scotia. Permissu Superiorum. Londini Typis Hen. Hills, Regiæ Majestati, Pro Familia et Sacello Typographi. M.D.C.LXXXVI.”

read in all the churches in their respective dioceses.^b King James was no friend to toleration; but he claimed the power of dispensing with the penal laws, in order that the Romanists might reap the benefit. The Bishops and Clergy generally resisted the attempt as unlawful. They knew that James only wished to tolerate Popery. They warned the Dissenters of the danger, and to their noble conduct the salvation of the Church must be attributed.

Feeling that the attempt was illegal, the Bishops agreed upon a petition to his Majesty, which must be regarded as a proof of their unshaken determination to resist the encroachments of the Church of Rome. Of so much importance was this petition deemed, that *an answer* was prepared and published by the King's Printer. Most of the Bishops and Clergy, therefore, refused to read the *Declaration*. They were in a very difficult position. By reading it they would violate their consciences; by refusing they would incur the royal displeasure. The *first* declaration, since it was not commanded to be read in churches, did not involve such consequences. Undoubtedly this addition was intended to make the

^b The *First* was dated April 4th 1687; the *Second* April 27th 1688. A large number of Tracts was published on both sides of the question. The reader's attention is directed especially to the following: "Reflections upon the New Test. and the Reply thereto." "A Letter to a Dissenter." "A Letter of a Dissenter to his Friend at the Hague." "Some Considerations about the New Test." "A Letter from a Clergyman, containing his Reasons for not reading the Declaration." "Reasons why the Church of England as well as Dissenters should make their Addresses of Thanks." This last was printed by Hills, the King's Printer. The Oxford Clergy published their "Reasons for not Addressing;" To this there was a Reply printed also by Hills: "A Reply to the Reasons of the Oxford Clergy against Addressing."

Bishops and Clergy instrumental to their own degradation. But, by the overruling Providence of Almighty God, this step proved the most eventful in its consequences of all the measures adopted by his Majesty. Sancroft and six of his brethren ventured to present their petition to the King: an act for which they were committed to prison. The trials, with the proceedings connected with their liberation, need not be entered upon in this volume: and I allude to the subject thus far, merely for the purpose of shewing that the country was indebted to the Bishops, not to the Dissenters, for the successful resistance to the King's measures. To the Bishops of that day are we indebted for our present privileges. They were steady and firm in the defence of their principles, while the Dissenters were ready to comply with the King, even when his measures were calculated to let in Popery. Yet Dissenting writers are constantly charging the Bishops and Clergy, who refused to take the oaths subsequent to the revolution, with Popery, though they were the very persons to oppose its introduction. Lord Halifax, writing on the conduct of the Bishops to the Prince of Orange, says: "I look upon it as that which hath bound all the Protestants together, and bound them up into a knot, that cannot easily be untied." Dalrymple remarks: "There is no doubt that the petition and the imprisonment of the Bishops were the immediate causes of the dethronement of King James."^c

On the contrary, the Dissenters pursued a course

^c Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, iii. 145. James afterwards acknowledged his error in imprisoning the Bishops, and cast the blame on the Chancellor. But this was in exile, after he had time for reflection. Macpherson's *Papers*, III. 154.

which, had they not been checked, must have issued in the establishment of the Church of Rome. While they received the *Declaration*, it was rejected by almost all the Bishops and Clergy. It was read only in four churches in London. Some few of the Bishops forwarded it to their Clergy, who generally refused to read it. In the Diocese of Norwich, containing 1200 parishes, it was read only in three or four churches.^d Croft, Bishop of Hereford, forwarded it to his Clergy, and then published a singular pamphlet, containing his reasons for the course which he had adopted.^e He laments the necessity of acting in opposition to his metropolitan: and, at the same time, assures the King, that the non-complying Bishops were attached to his Majesty's person. The conduct of Crew, Bishop of Durham, was equally singular. He requested Baker to read the Declaration in his chapel at Aukland. Baker had already requested his own curate at Long Newton not to read it. "When all was over, the Bishop (as a penance I presume) ordered me to go to the Dean (as Archdeacon) to require him to make a return to Court of all such as had not read it, which I did, though I was one of the number."^f The Bishop, however, joined in the vote, that King James had abdicated. He also took the oaths to William and Mary, and retained his bishopric until his death in

^d D'Oyley's Sancroft, i. 257-270. Macpherson, i. 448-9. Somerville, 162, 165, 166. Kennet, iii. 482-6. Comber's Life, 259-64. Prideaux's Life, 40. Gutch's Collectanea, i. 328-41. Rapin, ii. 762. Stillingfleet's Mis. Discourses, 368-71.

^e A Short Discourse concerning the Reading His Majesty's Declaration in the Churches, set forth by the Right Reverend Father in God, Herbert, Lord Bp. of Hereford, 4to. 1688.

^f Baker's Life, pp. 5-6.

1722. When time had elapsed sufficient to ascertain the numbers, it was found that not more than 200 Clergymen throughout the whole country had read the Declaration. It was read by Sprat in Westminster Abbey; but few persons remained to hear it, besides the Choristers and the Westminster Scholars.^g

Unable to shew that the Dissenters took any part in the great struggle, and unwilling to award any merit to the Bishops and Clergy, Dissenting writers frequently labour to find out something, on which they may rest a charge against the members of the Anglican Church. They pretend, therefore, that the Clergy opposed the King merely because he favoured the Dissenters, and not from any love of liberty. They claim the Revolution as the offspring of their own principles, though Dissenters really supported the King in his unconstitutional course. Instead of defending the liberties of their country, they actually addressed the King in the most flattering style. To encourage them, they were told by some of the courtiers, that the royal intentions had all along been thwarted by the Church of England. The language of not a few of the addresses must have surprised the King himself. Alsop, a man of some influence with the body, prepared an address, in which the parties wished the King success in his "great councils and affairs."^h These Addresses encouraged the King in his course; for he never conceived it possible, that he should be defeated by the Church. The Dis-

^g Mackintosh, 252.

^h Biog. Brit. Art. Alsop. Kettlewell's Life and Works, p. 61. In others, the expression "our brethren the Roman Catholics" occurred. Swift's Works, Scott's Ed. viii. 399.

senters, says one who was by no means unfriendly to them, "were in general ripe for attaching themselves to the party of the King."ⁱ It is said too, that Sunderland and others, who were in the interest of the Prince of Orange, fell in with the Dissenters, and persuaded the King to persevere.^k

Hallam admits, that the Dissenters have been ashamed of their conduct. Some Addresses were presented by the Clergy ; but they "disclose their ill-humour at the unconstitutional indulgence, limiting their thanks to some promises of favour the King had used toward the Established Church."^l Swift says, speaking of the Bishops, "if the Presbyterians expressed the same zeal upon any occasion, the instances are not, as I can find, left upon record or transmitted by tradition."^m Efforts have been made to defend the Dissenters in addressing the King, but it is not possible to remove the reproach under which they lie, not only of not acting against Popery, but even of forwarding James's views. "Addresses came from all sects and persuasions throughout the kingdom, filled, with the most rapturous professions of loyalty. Anabaptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers promiscuously crowded the royal presence, and laid their offerings at the foot of the Throne. James was compared to Cyrus, to Moses, to several other deliverers of the people of God in the ancient world, his piety was praised, his moderation exalted, his

ⁱ Dalrymple, i. 189.

^k Macpherson, i. 432. Calamy, i. 380. Hallam, iii. 91. Rapin, ii. 758.

^l Hallam, Const. Hist. iii. 101.

^m Swift's Works, viii. 401.

magnanimity raised to the skies.”ⁿ This extract does not overstate the matter : and Calamy and others are compelled to admit the fact. The Dissenters supported the King against the liberties of their country ; but the Nonjurors, who have been so much traduced by that party, were among the foremost to oppose their sovereign in his unconstitutional career. Surely these facts ought to keep dissenting writers silent. Whatever may have been their views respecting the Revolution, they contributed nothing whatever towards its accomplishment. “ Whatever opposition was made to the usurpations of King James proceeded altogether from the clergy and one of the universities. The Dissenters readily and almost universally complied with him.”^o Scott also remarks, “ in accomplishing the Revolution, the services of the established Church had been chiefly conspicuous. The Dissenters had at one time, (if the expression can be permitted) coquetted with James II. and shewed some disposition to accommodate themselves to his plans of arbitrary power in order to gratify their vengeance by enjoying the degradation and perhaps the fall of the Church of England. And although they recovered from this delusion, yet they must be considered rather as falling in with and aiding the general current of opinion, than as leading and directing it against the abdicated monarch.”^p

ⁿ Macpherson, i. 436-437. See also Kettlewell's Life, 62-63. Rapin, ii. 758. The accuracy of the picture is admitted in the following sentence from a Dissenting writer : “ If some of them exceeded on this occasion in their compliments to the King, it must be considered that oppression will make a wise man mad.” Bennet's Memorial, 328.

^o Swift's Works, viii. 259.

^p Ibid. 351.

It is amusing to read the defences which have been set up for the Dissenters by Calamy and others. "The Dissenters were not so fond of hard usage as to refuse a liberty so freely offered them: nor did they think it good manners to enquire too narrowly how that indulgence came about." Speaking of Alsop, Calamy says, "I could be content to draw a veil over his conduct, in the reign of King James; but who is wise at all times." He adds, "none more rejoiced in the Revolution or were more hearty in King William's cause."^q Yet Alsop was as hearty in the cause of King James, and did all he could, by supporting his Majesty, to prevent the accession of the Prince of Orange. "They were glad," says another of their defenders, "to see the work in so good hands, and the controversy managed to so good purpose by their protestant brethren of the Church of England. They thought it but reasonable to leave them to lay the devil they had done so much many of them to raise."^r Such attempts at a defence only serve to prove the charge.

But it was not only at the period of the *Declaration* that the Dissenters pursued so strange a course. If we look back over the latter part of the reign of Charles II. we shall find that they were silent on the subject of Popery. It was improbable that men, who could so flatter King James, would write against his Church. Yet soon after the Revolution, the Dissenters were constantly bringing the charge of Popery, not only against the Nonjurors, but against all consistent members of the Anglican Church. "In less than

^q Calamy, i. 376. ii. 487. Life of Howe, 132-6.

^r Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation, 324. Defence, 165-168.

seven years before, one of the main objections brought against them was their inclinableness to Popery. But when the falseness of this accusation was made to appear beyond contradiction, by the strenuous opposition that was generally by them, both from the pulpit and the press, carried on against that which they were accounted before favourers of; it was more than a little remarkable, that those, who had made the outcry, were themselves now not only generally silent, but were also the very first to join hands with this very Popery against the Church of England." Thus some years before the Revolution the Dissenters raised the cry of Popery against the Church of England: in 1688 they actively supported King James: and a few years after, when the victory had been gained, though they had favoured his Majesty, they actually revived the cry of Popery against the clergy. The same writer remarks again: "Surely nothing could appear more odd and extravagant, than the conduct of these new allies with Popery."^s

The Dissenters, therefore, if they were the supporters of the Revolution, were so unwittingly and not intentionally. By flattering the monarch they encouraged him in that course, which issued in his ruin, and which he would not have pursued so long, if they had acted faithfully like the Bishops and Clergy. King James could fairly say, that "he had been encouraged by multitudes of addresses."^t No merit, therefore, is due to the Dissenters; for they never contemplated opposition. "Though the Clergy of the Church of England bore the burden and heat of the day, and bravely defended their religion, while the Dissenters lay silent, and concurred in all the

^s Kettlewell's Life, 59, 60.

^t Ibid. 62, 63.

measures of the court, yet had they the confidence to pretend a mighty share of merit at the Revolution.”^u

As the Nonjurors were subjected to so much reproach from the Dissenters, it appears desirable in this work to expose the conduct of the latter at, and immediately prior to, the Revolution of 1688. Still I would not have entered upon this exposure, had not Dissenting writers, from that time down to the present moment, been in the habit of charging Popery against many of the most faithful children of the Anglican Church. It must strike reflecting persons as somewhat remarkable, that, like their forefathers, modern Dissenters are making Common Cause with Popery : while the Church of England still remains the chief bulwark against the encroachments of Rome. As soon as the Dissenters had entered into the harvest, which certainly was prepared by others, they became very virtuous and zealous, and charged the Nonjuring Clergy with Popery. This was marvellous inconsistency in men, who had done so much to further the cause of Romanism. They encouraged the King in his measures : and, but for that encouragement, his Majesty would never have proceeded to a prosecution of the imprisoned prelates.^w The most active supporters of King James were William Penn, a Quaker, and Henry Care, a Dissenter. They asserted the dispensing power in the Crown : so that according to their doctrine the King could not be bound by any laws.^x

^u Salmon's Examination of Burnet, ii. 1024.

^w Kettlewell's Life, 75, 76.

^x Johnston, his Majesty's physician, published a work in defence of the dispensing power : "The King's Visitorial Power asserted, &c. 4to London, Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for his Household and Chappel. 1688." It was ably answered in "Some Observations upon the

It may, therefore, be alleged without fear of contradiction, that the Clergy of the Anglican Church prevented the introduction of Popery. Nobly did they defend the truth, both at the Revolution, and during several previous years. In a catalogue of books against Popery during the reign of James II. the compiler, after specifying two books, says: "These are all I find written by Nonconformists. I need not here to beg our Nonconformist brethren's pardon upon this slender account of their writings against Popery during the reign of King James II, because I have used great diligence to attain an exact account of them."^y Of the works published by Churchmen on the controversy with Rome, a portion, and only a portion, was reprinted by Bishop Gibson.^z In a sermon at Oxford in 1705, the writer, alluding to this subject, says, "I shall not bring in here that all those noble defences, that were written against popery in these times, were done by the hands of Churchmen: all besides three cold Pamphlets, that stole out as it were in *moonlight*, as if the authors had been ashamed of them, and perhaps they had some reason. But I will not urge this any longer as an objection against these men, that they wrote no

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England; with an Appendix in answer to a late Book intitled 'The King's Visitorial Power Asserted. London, 8vo. 1689.'

^y "The catalogue of all the discourses against Popery during the reign of King James II, by members of the Church of England and by the Nonconformists, with the names of the authors. 4to. London, 1689." The number of distinct treatises is 230. See also "The present state of the controversie between the Church of Rome and the Church of England: and an account of the works written on both sides. 4to. London, 1687."

^z Gibson's Preservative, Folio, 3 Volumes.

more against Popery, for it may be they were not able: I am sure 'tis an argument of our charity for them if we think so. When the Dissenters paid all their addresses and compliments to the government, these good men could then comply with any thing, if they could lessen the Church's authority."^a At that time the Dissenters were raising the cry of Popery against the Church: and the preacher very properly reminded them of their conduct at the Revolution.

The King attempted to prevent the Clergy from introducing the subject into their pulpits: but a sense of duty led them to persevere in their course. They chose rather to obey God than the King. Among other measures adopted to silence the Clergy, the Press was artfully employed by command of his Majesty. Several publications made their appearance: but they were promptly answered by some of those champions, who had undertaken the defence of the Church and the truth.^b In short, the supporters of the Church ever stood ready to defend the great doctrines embodied in our Formularies. As a specimen of the lengths to which the royal supporters

^a Tilley's Sermon, 1705, 8vo, 22. 28. 29. Burnet, who was not unfriendly to the Dissenters, says: "The Clergy began to preach generally against Popery, which the Dissenters did not."

^b I subjoin the titles of some: "Good Advice to the Pulpits, delivered in a few Cautions for the keeping up the Reputation of those Chairs and preserving the Nation in Peace. 4to, 1687." This was printed by the King's Printer. It was answered in "An Apology for the Pulpits," being an answer to a late book, "Good Advice to the Pulpits, 4to, 1688." The King's friends replied in "Pulpit Sayings, or the Character of the Pulpit-Papist Examined, in answer to the Apology for the Pulpits." This was answered in "Pulpit Popery true Popery: being an answer to Pulpit Sayings, 4to London, 1688."

were encouraged to proceed, it may be mentioned, that a work was actually published to shew Protestants how they should conduct themselves under a Roman Catholic Sovereign.^c

Thus the contrast between the Dissenters on the one hand, and the Bishops and Clergy on the other, including those who subsequently became Nonjurors, was most striking. Still the Church of England flourished notwithstanding the lukewarmness of the Nonconformists. "The Church of England was never known to be in a more flourishing condition than at this time; all things duly weighed it became much more powerful by the opposition made against it, and grew by the favours indulged to its adversaries. The number of converts made in the reign of this king to his religion was most inconsiderable, and their service to him still more inconsiderable, if it could be said to be any at all. On the other side, for every one that was lost to the established religion, it was thought there were ten at least added to it another way: for certain great numbers of Dissenters were brought into the communion of the Church by the learned writings of the orthodox clergy." It was remarked as a proof of the flourishing state of the Church, that the rites and ceremonies were better observed, the Churches were full, and the communions more frequent.^d

The birth of a Prince of Wales, however, alarmed the country. The Princess of Orange was the next heir to the throne, consequently the birth of a Son

^c How the Members of the Church of England ought to behave themselves under a Roman Catholic King, with respect to the test and penal laws, 12mo, London, 1687.

^d Kettlewell's Life, 59.

filled the minds of the people with apprehension. This event took place on the 10th of June, during the imprisonment of the Bishops; so that Sancroft could not have been the author of the *Form of Prayer*, which was ordered to be used on the Day of Thanksgiving. This general apprehension of danger led some of the principal men in the kingdom to look to the Prince of Orange for support. They were members of the Church of England: so that, whatever merit attaches to the Revolution, belongs to them, not to the Dissenters. Into the particulars connected with the Prince's arrival, I need not enter at any length, since my narrative properly commences with the period fixed for taking the oaths to William and Mary. I shall only touch, therefore, on those points which appear to me to be necessary in order to illustrate the subject.

As soon as William landed in England, he published a Declaration explanatory of his views in coming to this country. He stated, that he wished to preserve the religion and the liberties of the people: and that he had been invited by several of the Lords, spiritual and temporal. King James summoned Sancroft and the Bishops into his presence, to question them respecting the Declaration, who denied all knowledge of the Prince's intentions, or that they had given him any invitation. It was subsequently proved, that the Bishop of London had actually signed the invitation to the Prince, though he positively denied it in the presence of his Majesty. He was the only Spiritual Peer who did sign it: and his solemn denial must ever remain as a blot upon his memory. Sancroft signed a paper, declaring that he never concurred in inviting the Prince of Orange, and expressing his belief, that all the Bishops

were guiltless of any such imputation. He had no suspicion of Compton.^e A writer, whom I shall have occasion to notice presently, is very severe on Compton, and also upon Burnet, for the part they took in this matter: "Nor will any that know the men allow, that *Jack Boots* or *Cambric Sleeves* embarked in dethroning or driving away the King, out of any regard unto, or concernedness for the reformed doctrine and worship: but that they did it out of pique and revenge, and upon the motives of ambition and covetousness, in the *one* to get a bishopric, and in the *other* to preserve one."^f Compton is designated *Jack Boots*, from the fact of his heading a troop of horse at the Revolution. Burnet is called *Cambric Sleeves*, on the alleged ground, that he declined to wear lawn sleeves after he became a Bishop, having them made of a different material.

On the Bishops declaring, that they had not concurred in inviting the Prince, and that they were altogether ignorant of his design, the King requested them to sign a Paper expressive of their abhorrence of the invasion. This, however, they declined. They honestly declared that they had taken no part with the Prince: they advised his Majesty to preserve the religion and liberties of the country; but they would not sign any Declaration of Abhorrence. Throughout this anxious period, Sancroft and his brethren, with the exception of Compton, acted a most consistent part. They resisted the King's il-

^e Gutch's Collectanea, i. 442, 444; vol. ii. 366.

^f Whether the preserving the Protestant Religion was the motive unto, or the end that was designed in the late Revolution, 4to.

legal schemes ; but they did not adopt measures to set him aside : and no charge of inconsistency, between their conduct at this time and a subsequent period, can be sustained. The only inconsistent man was Compton, who said to his Majesty, "I am confident the rest of the Bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself."^g In the reasons which Compton assigned for not signing a Declaration of Abhorrence, he intimates, that, "as only few Bishops were in London, to sign any paper would lead the world to expect, that they were divided in opinion ; who, we hope, are very well united." He also argues, that the clause in the Declaration joined the Lords temporal and spiritual ; "so that if it has any meaning, it must intend, that there is a concurrence of both orders to invite them to this attempt, which would make it more improper in us, even though all the Bishops were here, to make a separate vindication, when the accusation is joined, and comprehends the temporal Lords in it."^h This reasoning was intended to convey the impression, that he had not signed the Invitation to the Prince. Nothing could be more reprehensible than such conduct.

Of those, who refused to sign a Declaration of Abhorrence of the Prince's designs, several subsequently became Nonjurors : and their refusal to take the oaths has been considered as inconsistent with their conduct on this occasion. But surely this is a most groundless charge. They saw the necessity of some interference with King James : and they believed,

^g Macpherson, i. 458. Dalrymple, i. 238, vol. iii. 136-7-8. Kennet, iii, 482. Rapin, ii. 770. James's Memoirs, ii. 210. Macpherson's Papers, i. 275-6-7.

^h Gutch's Collec. i. 445.

that nothing would be so effectual as the interposition of the Prince; but they never contemplated the removal of his Majesty or the advancement of William to the throne. They pursued a uniform course of opposition to those measures, which were illegal, uninfluenced by any sinister considerations. They were anxious to preserve the Church; they wished also to preserve the rights of the King; consequently they were perfectly consistent in their refusal of the oaths, notwithstanding their previous refusal to express their abhorrence of the attempt of the Prince of Orange. The Nonjurors never objected to the interference of the Prince; but they neither invited him to come, nor would they express their disapprobation of his coming.

A singular circumstance occurred after the arrival of the Prince, which, as having a special bearing on the Revolution, merits a notice in this volume. The Prince issued a *second* Declaration; but in December another document, purporting to be a *third*, was published and circulated. No one appears to have doubted the genuineness of the paper. It contained some very strong allusions to the Roman Catholics; and Dr. Lingard and Ralph appear to attribute the flight of King James to this document. The Prince did not publicly disown the paper: neither did he avow it as his own. Thus the mystery remained unravelled, until some years after, when Speke, the real author, had the effrontery to claim it as his own production, and also to plead a merit for the fabrication. The document was dated from Sherbourne Castle, the 28th of November. Burnet, however, says, that the Prince disowned it as soon as he saw it; but this was only in private. Speke says he presented it to the Prince at Sherbourne Castle, and that all his attendants, after some consideration, be-

lieved that it would serve the cause. The author of the *History of the Desertion* asserts, that it was not circulated till the sixth of December; and as the Prince had left Sherbourne at or before the beginning of the month, there was sufficient time to have contradicted the paper through the Press. Ralph exclaims, "How amazing! that a man should betray an ambition to be thought the author of so nefarious a contrivance, which might have occasioned a general massacre of the Papists." Speke's own account proves him to have been a dishonest man, for he boasts of acting as a spy for King James, while he was serving the Prince of Orange. The Paper was undoubtedly the means of bringing many persons to acquiesce in the proceedings of the Prince.ⁱ

The members of the Church of England generally concurred in looking to the Prince of Orange as a mediator, however they might differ on certain points. This is allowed by King James himself.^k But James was determined on quitting the country. It must be admitted, that he met with many provocations: and being under the influence of his Priests, who persuaded him that his life or his liberty was in danger, and that he would be restored by a foreign force, he took a step which proved fatal to his interests. Had he remained, the idea of setting him aside could not have been entertained, in which case the nonjuring schism would never have existed. He must have remained the sovereign, whatever measures might

ⁱ Speke's Secret History of the Revolution. Ralph i. 1051-52-64. Dalrymple, i. 264. Rapin, ii. 780. Lingard xiv. 263. Echard's Hist. of Revolution, 182-3. King James's Memoirs, ii 257. Echard's History of England, iii.

^k James's Memoirs, ii. 171-4.

have been adopted for restraining the exercise of the prerogative. The leaders could not have avowed an intention of placing the Prince of Orange on the throne, had King James continued in the country : but when he actually retired into a foreign land, they supposed, that he would never return except on his own terms. Hence it became their interest to resort to measures to prevent such a return.

When the King had quitted the country, the Archbishop and the Bishops concurred with the temporal Peers in calling upon the Prince to take upon himself the administration of affairs. It was necessary that vigorous measures should be adopted, while the Prince was unquestionably the fittest person to carry them into execution. It is difficult to decide on the views of all parties at this juncture ; but in a very short space the question relative to offering the crown to William was publicly discussed. Tories and Whigs had united in supporting the Prince on his arrival. The former contemplated nothing more than a parliamentary settlement for the security of religion and liberty : but probably the latter, even from the beginning, were desirous of setting King James aside altogether. It seems that the most pressing calls upon the Prince to undertake the administration of affairs were from the Tories ; so that no difference of opinion existed respecting the character of the measures, which James had adopted.¹ Scott remarks, that the Tories greatly contributed towards the Revolution, but afterwards repented.^m This is applicable only to one section of the Tories ;

¹ Dalrymple, i. 217. Rapin, ii. 800. Tindal's Introduction, xxi.

^m Life of Dryden, 308.

and Scott himself mentions facts which are opposed to the previous statement. "The Whigs were willing to seize liberty under a new leader; and the Tories deemed it not incompatible with their principles of obedience to receive it from the hands of a Prince, whose consort would, in all probability, have a right to their future allegiance. In one thing only the Tories and Whigs differed: the Tories intended no more by asking the protection of the Prince of Orange, than to procure a great parliamentary settlement for the security of the national religion and laws: but the Whigs, concealing their intentions in public, animated each other thus in private."ⁿ Dalrymple observes, that the Whigs were of opinion, that they could compel the King to descend from the throne by the voice of the people. The duplicity of the Whigs will be manifest from other proceedings, which will be detailed in the progress of this work. On all occasions they appear to have consulted their own interests rather than their country's welfare.

To illustrate the motives by which the various parties of that period were influenced, and to show that a combination of circumstances contributed to the completion of the Revolution, I may refer to the state of things on the Continent. It is a fact, that the Pope himself contributed money towards the expense of William's expedition. This circumstance is placed beyond a doubt. The Pope was opposed to the interests of France: consequently he promoted the design of the Prince, in order that he might weaken the French monarch. "The finest stroke of the Prince's policy was his art in deluding the Pope. Taking advantage of that Pontiff's animosity against

ⁿ Dalrymple, i. 204-5.

France, he had made him believe, that the Emperor was to send a great army to the Rhine, that he was to join it with one equally great from Holland, and march at the head of both into France. For the advancement of this project great sums were remitted by the Pope to the Emperor: and those sums thus got from the head of the Roman Catholic world were employed in the dethronement of a Roman Catholic King.”^o This account, indeed, reflects no credit on the Prince, since it attributes his success with the Pope to a false representation. But the fact shews, that a combination of singular circumstances contributed to the Revolution. The Pope’s “aversion to France threw him into the arms of the Emperor: and he supported in some degree the cause of the Allies with the money of the Church.”^p It seems clear, that the Pope actually knew of the Prince’s design, though he could not have contemplated his accession to the throne of Great Britain. “Innocent was by no means a friend to King James. His aversion to Lewis XIV had joined him to the Allies, and even connected him with the Prince of Orange. Many Catholic princes followed the example of the Father of the Church. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague ordered masses to be said publicly in his chapel for the success of the Prince’s expedition.

^o Dalrymple, i. 222.

^p Macpherson’s Papers, I. 299. “It happened,” says Ralph, “most favourably for the Protestant religion, that the quarrel between his Holiness and his eldest son now raged with more fury than ever.” Ralph, i. 976. The Pope, Innocent XI, died in 1689. He was called *the Protestant Pope*, “though,” says Ralph, “for no better reasons that appear than his opposition to France, and the share he had in setting the Prince of Orange on the throne of England.” Ibid. ii. 164.

The Emperor espoused his cause with all his influence at Rome : and he himself had the address to persuade the Pope, that the interests of the Roman Catholics and the restoration of their religion in Britain, were connected with the success of his enterprise.”^a Macpherson relates the following anecdote, which, he says, “ may be joined to other known proofs of this circumstance.” He states that Prince Vaudemont was in the confidence of the Prince of Orange, who argued “ that the Pope and the Roman Catholic Princes were in the wrong to expect any thing from King James in favour of the Romish faith : that his being declared of that religion made every body jealous of the least and most indifferent step he took : and it was, therefore, impracticable for him to do them any service : for the whole nation would oppose it, as tending to destroy the Church of England : whereas himself being a Protestant, might take any step whatever, and serve them effectually, without the least suspicion : and in case they would favour and promote his attempt upon England, he would undertake to procure a toleration for the Roman Catholics.” It is added, that the Pope favoured the scheme under the influence of such feelings : and it is remarked, that the Prince, throughout his reign, gave the Roman Catholics a connivance equal to a toleration.^r From this statement, the truth of which

^a Macpherson’s Papers, i. 299. To this statement may be added another of Calamy’s respecting the Dutch. “ They had public prayers in the Churches every day for a good while together, which was an unusual thing in that country : and I observed the ministers prayed for a north east wind, by name, which would bring the forces thence hither to the best advantage.” Calamy’s Account of his own Life, i. 52.

^r Macpherson’s Papers, i. 299, 300.

seems to be fully established, it is evident that the Prince acted with considerable craft.

The previous facts moreover are supported from James's own memoirs. Before he went to Ireland, the King wrote to the Emperor. But the Emperor reminded his Majesty, that had he listened to his ambassador, "instead of hearkening to the fraudulent suggestions of France, he would have been in a different position." James, commenting on the severity of the Emperor's answer, says: "Yet that was the treatment his Majesty experienced from the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, who, forgetting the oppressed Prince, made haste to compliment the Usurper, and entered into a stricter league with him than before."^s The state of Europe, therefore, was favourable to William's enterprise. Hatred to France, and the desire of William's alliance, led the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Pope himself, to countenance the Prince's attempt. The writer of the Life of Bolingbroke admits that the alliance with France was the ruin of James. "This suggested the scheme of the Revolution, promoted the execution, and secured the success of it. The Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and several princes of Germany, lent their assistance willingly, and lent it to a Prince the most capable of managing such a design with that secrecy and address, which could alone hinder it from proving abortive."^t

The question of the Prince's views on entering upon this expedition, I shall discuss presently: but the previous extracts shew, that the dethronement of King James was contemplated as a probable thing.

^s James's Memoirs, ii. 324-327.

^t Life of Bolingbroke, 68, 69.

No person, however, could have calculated on the consequences that ensued : and had James remained in the country, the utmost elevation at which the Prince could have arrived would have been to the post of Regent. The King evidently thought, with his priests, that he might be restored by the assistance of France. He imagined, that his absence would involve the Prince of Orange in great difficulty : but he could not have been prepared for the course which was adopted by the Convention.

To this time, therefore, namely, the departure of the King, there was no difference of opinion among the Bishops and the Clergy. All regarded the Prince as a mediator. Sancroft, with his brethren, united with the temporal Lords in beseeching the Prince to adopt measures for the safety of the kingdom.^u There was no reluctance on the part of the Archbishop and the Bishops in begging the Prince to act : but they did not contemplate his accession to the throne. In the Address to the Prince, he was requested to take steps for calling a free Parliament, in order that measures might be adopted for the safety of the Church, and also to secure due liberty to Protestant Dissenters. This proposal emanated from the Church, and at a moment when the Dissenters were flattering King James. Burnet insinuates, that Sancroft's concurrence, in this Address to the Prince, was inconsistent with his subsequent conduct in refusing the oath : but the disingenuousness of such a reflection is obvious, since the Bishops only regarded him as a mediator, not as a sovereign. It surely becomes us to judge favourably of the conduct of men, who were involved in difficulties of no ordinary kind.

^u Kennet, iii. 500. Echard's Revolution, 214. Salmon's History, 382-3.

From this period it is said, that William acted more like a king than a mediator. Those gentlemen, who had been members of previous Parliaments, were summoned to meet at Westminster: and writs were afterwards issued for convening the Convention Parliament, which met on the 22nd of January 1688-9. Previous to this the Prince had publicly conformed to the Church of England, by receiving the Lord's Supper at the hands of the Bishop of London in the Chapel Royal at St. James's.^w

Before the Convention assembled, the settlement of the government was the great subject of discussion throughout the whole kingdom. Still no one could foresee what would be the result of the deliberations of that assembly. Evelyn mentions a visit, which he paid to the Archbishop on the 15th of January. The Bishop of St. Asaph's was also present, with the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Chichester. The conversation turned on the state of public affairs. Some persons, it was said, wished the Princess of Orange to be made Queen: others advocated a Regency: while another party recommended the recall of King James on certain conditions. Evelyn assures us that the Romanists were busy among all these parties, in order

^w Echard's Revolution, 219. Ralph remarks from Reresby, that the Prince at first favoured the Presbyterians, which startled the Clergy. He adds, on this act of receiving the Sacrament, "The Prince was as much a politician as his intractable temper would allow him to be, and suited his behaviour, as far as he could, to his interest. He was of opinion, that the champions for a divine hereditary right would never be champions for him; and therefore he thought it worth his while to be well with the Dissenters, who had no such difficulty to surmount. And this open professing himself of the Church of England was no more than an occasional conformity."—Ralph, vol. ii. 7.

to produce confusion. He adds: "I found nothing of all this in this assembly of Bishops, who were pleased to admit me into their discourses: they were all for a Regency, thereby to salve their oaths: and so all public matters to proceed in his Majesty's name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament according to the laws in being."^x With the exception of Burnet and some few Whigs, none of the Clergy and people of England had the most distant idea of setting aside King James, though they wished to see a Regency established. Nor could the Whigs of this time have expected more than a Regency, whatever may have been their wishes. "Nay," says a writer, "the Prince of Orange himself, by disclaiming all pretensions to the crown in the Declaration, seems to have been thoroughly persuaded that the people in general had no design, nay, were abhorrent from the thoughts of dispossessing their sovereign."^y This may be true respecting the Prince's expectations: but that he intended to assume the sovereignty, if circumstances should prove favourable, is evident from the facts which are stated in this volume.

When the Convention assembled animated discussions ensued. The Commons at length declared the throne vacant: but the Lords hesitated. A conference was proposed between the two Houses, which was protracted to a considerable length: but at last the Lords concurred with the Commons in declaring the throne vacant. Two plans were open to the Convention: the one the establishment of a Regency, the other a declaration of the vacancy of the throne. Those who argued for the vacancy, contended that the Princess of Orange, as the next heir, must neces-

^x Evelyn, iii, 263.

^y Life of Ormonde, 209.

sarily ascend the throne. In the Lords, the debate turned on the question between a vacancy and a Regency: and the former was carried by a majority of only three votes.^z Sancroft, and several of the Bishops, were not present on this occasion. Their presence, therefore, would have turned the scale in favour of a Regency. The Archbishop of York and eight other Prelates voted for a Regency; while two only, the Bishops of London and Bristol, voted with the majority. Had the Lords been left to their own unbiassed decision, without any influence from the Commons, they would not have voted for the vacancy of the throne. William himself saw this, and became alarmed. Contrary to his natural reserve, he called some of the Peers around him, and assured them that he would not be the Regent. He also asserted, that he would not accept the crown in the right of his wife, and that he should return to Holland unless he had the power as well as the title. Undoubtedly this declaration alarmed many of the Lords, and led to their concurrence with the Commons.^a

The Prince knew that the country would be at the mercy of King James, if he withdrew his army: consequently "he threatened to return to Holland, and leave them to the mercy of their exasperated Prince, which soon silenced all his opposers in the debates concerning the abdication."^b It must be admitted, that William's desire for his own aggrandizement was stronger than his love for the Church of England, since he was ready to leave the Church to the mercy of King James, if he could not secure the crown for

^z Evelyn, iii. 268. Fifty-four voted for the vacancy: Fifty-one for a Regency.

^a Macpherson, i. 507.

^b Salmon, i. 252.

himself. "The Prince had declared that he had no design upon the crown, and now sought it all he could: he came to settle the Protestant religion, and yet brought over with him four thousand Papists in his army: a number not far short of what the King had in his."^c

It was generally known, during the debates in the Convention, that William would be content with nothing less than the crown, for, at this period, he saw that the prize might be secured. For a time, however, the advocates of a Regency proceeded as though they knew nothing of the Prince's wishes.^d In a conversation with Lord Hallifax, Burnet "with great violence argued, that the Prince was to be crowned: and urged that England could never be happily settled till his Highness was at the helm, and this kingdom in strict conjunction with Holland."^e Even before the Convention met, William's claims were publicly advocated. Thus a writer says: "That which remains then to be done, is to declare the Prince of Orange King, and to settle upon him the Sovereignty and regal power: allowing in the mean time unto the Princess the privilege of being named with him in all leases, patents, and grants."^f It has been stated, and I must confess that there is in my opinion some foundation for the statement, that King James apprehended personal danger by remaining in the kingdom, and that William wished to produce

^c Reresby, 387.

^d Macpherson, i. 500.

^e Reresby, 380.

^f A Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange's Descent into England, and of the Kingdom's late Recourse to Arms. With a modest disquisition of what may become the wisdom and justice of the ensuing Convention in their disposal of the crown. 4to. London, 1689. p. 36.

such an impression, in order that he might be induced to quit the country. It appears that an intimation was made to the King, that he was in danger. To determine on flight therefore under such an apprehension was not unnatural.^g If William expected the crown, he must have been anxious for the removal of the King. James fancied that the Prince wished him to depart. He remarks that the guards at Rochester were not so particular in watching him, “which confirmed him in the belief that the Prince of Orange would be well enough contented he should get away.”^h

In forming an opinion of the men, who did not concur in raising William to the throne, we must endeavour to place ourselves in their circumstances. Whatever may have been the views of some of the intriguing Whigs, the greater part of the nation must have been taken by surprise at such a result. “Whatever the Prince and some particular persons, whom our author mentions, might design or hope for, possibly not one man in a hundred at that time ever thought of seeing themselves delivered in the manner they were afterwards.”ⁱ All, who subsequently became Nonjurors, were ready to admit that circumstances might arise to render a Prince incapable of government: and some of them thought, that an immoveable persuasion in a false religion was sufficient to warrant the interference of the legislature.^k

It must, therefore, be borne in mind, that all those excellent men, who subsequently became Nonjurors, were prepared to support a Regency, and to constitute

^g Reresby, 383.

^h James's Memoirs, ii, 267.

ⁱ Salmon on Burnet, ii, 1026.

^k Salmon on Burnet, ii, 1068.

the Prince of Orange the Regent. It cannot be supposed that a Regency would not have preserved the Church and the liberties of the people ; and had King James remained in the country, a Regency only could have been contemplated, for the two Houses would not in that case have proceeded to depose their sovereign. The Bishops and Clergy had no wish to see King James restored to power : but they conceived, that every purpose connected with the safety of the country would have been answered by a Regency. In considering the plan of a Regency, apart from the consequences which have resulted from the Revolution, we must, I think, admit, that it was open to the fewest objections. The Schism would thus have been prevented. Sancroft and his brethren would have cordially concurred in such a settlement ; and the peace of the Church would have been unbroken. The Bishop of Ely argued, in the debates on the subject, for a Regency, and that the throne was not vacant in the sense implied in the word *abdicated*. He considered the word to be of too large a signification : and that another might be adopted implying “ *the ceasure of the exercise of a right.*” We may be assured that if Turner would have been satisfied with a Regency, none of the other Bishops would have objected.

The chief argument, used by the advocates of the Prince was this : that no safety could be expected under a Popish Prince : and that, therefore, they must look to the next heir being a Protestant. The leaders of this party were friends to monarchy and episcopacy : nor would they have departed from the direct line of succession, if they had not considered such a procedure necessary for the preservation of the liberties of the country. The Princess of Orange

was the next Protestant heir : but as the Prince had been so instrumental in the deliverance, it was deemed necessary to associate both together in the government.¹ The settlement was made in a very brief space. The period from the arrival of King William on the coast of Devon, to the final departure of King James, comprehended forty-three days : and only one hundred days elapsed from the *fifth of November*, 1688, to the day on which William and Mary were declared to be King and Queen of England. The Convention waited on the Prince and Princess on the seventh day of February, 1688-9, with an act of resolution, by which they were recognized as sovereigns of this country. The order of Council, for altering the Prayers for the Royal Family, was issued on the 16th of February : but an entry in Evelyn, on the 30th of January, shews that the ruling powers began very early to accommodate the services of the Church to the new state of things : “ the anniversary of King Charles the First’s martyrdom : but in all the public offices and Pulpit Prayers, the Collects and Litany for the King and Queene were curtailed and mutilated.”^m

The consideration of the Prince’s own views has been partly anticipated in the preceding observations : but, as the question is one of some interest, and since

¹ Particulars connected with the settlement of the Crown may be seen in the following works. *The Desertion Discussed*. *Life of James*, 232—36. *Macpherson*, i, 503—506. 508—512. *Kennet*, 507—14. *Tindal’s Introduction*, xxiv—vii. *Sherlock’s Letter in State Tracts*. *D’Oyley’s Sancroft*, i, 415—30. *Somerville*, 179—89. 199. *Echard’s History of the Revolution*, 222—30.

^m Vol. iii, 269. The King quitted the country on the 24th of December, and on the 30th, Evelyn records the following entry in his *Diary* : “ This day Prayers for the Prince of Wales were first left off in our Church.” Vol. iii, 262.

its settlement is absolutely necessary to a due appreciation of his character and principles, I intend to devote a few pages to the subject. His sentiments were not revealed by himself, not even to his friends ; but they were gathered from certain indications in his conduct. It must, I think, be admitted, that some other feeling than the desire to preserve the Protestant religion, influenced William in his invasion. As long as King James had no son, the Prince expected the sovereignty for his wife ; but when a male heir was born he evidently became alarmed. He, therefore, affected to believe, that the Prince of Wales was not the son of King James. In his declaration he stated, that he came to preserve the liberties of the people, and also to inquire into the birth of the Prince of Wales. After his accession, however, we hear no mention of the Prince of Wales. It may, I think, be argued, that if William had been only anxious to secure the liberties of the country and the safety of the Protestant religion, he might have been satisfied with a Regency, in which all power would have been vested in himself. But William, as we have seen, was prepared to leave the country, and consequently open the door to the unconditional return of King James, unless the crown were placed upon his own head. However we may revere his memory, for acting as our deliverer at an important crisis, we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that a feeling of ambition prompted him to undertake his expedition : nor can it be denied, that there was some foundation for the severe remarks which were made at the time on his proceedings. “ I must needs say,” observes a contemporary writer, “ that the Prince’s tenderness and zeal for the Protestant religion, and his compassionate care to secure it to us

and our posterity, when it was in imminent and immediate danger of being extirpated, and which there was no other visible human means to prevent; was then, and continues still to be made, the pretence of his invading these dominions." This idea is combated by the writer, who asserts, that other motives induced the Prince of Orange to undertake the enterprise: "Nor did those abroad that co-operated in the Revolution act any more upon motives that respected the Protestant religion, than we here did. Nor did the great man who keeps his palace at Kensington bring an army into England, and screw himself into the throne, upon any motives of saving the Protestant religion; but merely upon the impulse of pride, haughtiness, and ambition, and to gratify his aspirings after a crown. I will challenge all mankind, who have not abjured truth and common honesty, to believe any longer or to continue to avouch, that his coming into England was out of any other respect to our religion save making it the cloak and stalking horse to his towering and ambitious designs. It was King Charles having no children, and the Duke of York having no male ones that lived, and his own marriage with the said Duke's eldest daughter, and therefore coming into some probable and nearer prospect of arriving sooner or later at the sovereignty over these kingdoms, that made him put on the vizard and mask of a zealot for the reformed religion; having before lived in all the coldness and indifference in that matter that was consistent with his keeping the posts he held in Holland." In reference to the question of the Prince of Wales's legitimacy, the same writer remarks: "Even then," when the Declaration was issued, "and until a few days before he actually embarked on that design, he had the royal

babe prayed for in his own chapel by that distinguishing and princely title." It was said, that one of the Prince's friends stated, "that they neither questioned the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales nor were concerned about it; for that the Prince was now got into the throne, and was resolved to keep it so long as he lived, and cared not who ascended it when he was gone." ⁿ

There is another passage in the same tract, in which the writer argues the question to the disadvantage of the Prince. "They must have forfeited common sense, as well as moral honesty, who can be prevailed upon to allow, that the many Catholic Princes who approved of that undertaking could design any good to the Protestant religion, or believe that any advantage would accrue unto it by that attempt. It is to buffoon us, and treat us in ridicule, to endeavour to impose upon our belief, that the late Prince Palatine, who together with the Prince of Orange, was the original contriver of a descent upon England: or that the Emperor, King of Spain, Elector of Bavaria, who concurred unto and countenanced it; or that old Oldischalchi and Innocent XI. who winked and connived at it, though against both a Catholic monarch and the first of the Romish Communion, that hath sat upon the throne of Great Britain for above these hundred years; could do it in kindness to the Protestant religion, or foresee that it was undertaken by the Prince of Orange upon any motive relating to the safety of it. No, they very well knew, that there was nothing of reli-

ⁿ Whether the Preserving the Protestant Religion was the motive unto, or the end that was designed in the late Revolution. 4to. pp. 4, 33, 36, 37, 39.

gion in this case ; but they were willing to make use of the ambition of the Prince of Orange to seek their own revenge against France, and on our being bubbled into it through a foolish credulity that it was entered upon in behalf of our religion.”^o

Though such a conclusion is unfavourable to the character of King William, yet it can, I think, scarcely be denied that ambitious views did very materially influence the Prince of Orange. “ Whether the Prince intended by his enterprise only to inquire into the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, to reconcile the King to his people, and to engage both in a war against France, or to dethrone him and take the direction of that war to himself, is only known to that God who is the searcher of hearts. It is probable he resolved to direct himself by events, according as they should present themselves. For as he had formerly urged on the exclusion, when seconded by one half of the nation, he fell upon the same principles to accept the crown, if offered by the whole.”^p

It is clear that William did not in reality question the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. We must, therefore, conclude that the question was introduced into his Declaration, in order to inflame the public mind. An infamous attempt was made some few years later, to shew that the child was the offspring of one Mary Grey, and that she was put to death in Paris to avoid a discovery. No notice was taken of the matter, and the unprincipled writer was suffered to remain in obscurity. His book was a most impudent forgery. The two Houses of Parliament, to whom it was addressed, very wisely permitted the

^o “ Whether the Preserving the Protestant Religion,” &c. pp. 40, 41.

^p Dalrymple, i. 214.

author to remain unnoticed. The author pretended that the letters were written by the Queen in secret ink, and that he had deciphered them by means of a compound of sulphur. In one of the letters, the Queen is made to give an account of Mary Grey's death by some priests at Paris.^q Some years before this book was published, Fuller offered to give evidence before the House of Commons of a pretended plot, but his character was so well known, that the House voted him to be a notorious imposter and false accuser; yet notwithstanding this severe rebuke, he had the effrontery to publish the book relative to James's son. In 1702, the very year of his publication, he was sentenced to stand in the pillory for a libel.^r

The treatment which Fuller received shews, that there was no wish to revive the silly story of the Prince's illegitimacy: and it is very evident, that it was originally invented for party purposes. He was, "as it suited with the designs of party, lawfully born, or a supposititious child."^s But the imputation

^q A full Demonstration that the pretended Prince of Wales was the son of Mrs. Mary Grey, undeniably proved by original letters of the late Queen and others: and by depositions of several persons of worth and honour, never before published: and a particular account of the murder of Mary Grey, at Paris. Humbly recommended to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament; by William Fuller, Gent. London, 8vo. 1702.

^r Salmon's History, i. 265. 319.

^s Life of Ormonde, 210. Ralph was severe upon the Duchess of Marlborough on this point. She passes over the subject in her account of her own life. He says that the world "expected that many important secrets would have been brought to light: that especially no consideration whatever would have prevailed with you to stifle all you knew relating to that birth which has been so often represented as an imposture, though never proved to be one." Ralph's Other Side of the Question, &c. pp. 5, 6.

must lie on William's memory of making use of the story, a story which he did not believe, for the purpose of advancing his own designs. In the Declaration he stated, that he and the Princess were deeply concerned in that matter. It was asked just after the Revolution, "Did they write to the King about this point? Did the King refuse to satisfy them? If not, could a greater impiety or a more execrable imposture be charged against the most flagitious and profligate persons." It was stated that, before the Prince left Holland, some persons drank the health of the Prince of Wales, adding, "if he die, our business is spoiled, and we shall never stir hence, meaning the Invasion would stop."^t The Prince was charged with a design upon the crown even as soon as he had published his *Declaration*. This charge was contained in a Pamphlet entitled "*Some Reflections on the Declaration.*" A reply was immediately put forth, supposed to be from the pen of Burnet, in which the question respecting the design on the crown is evaded; but evaded in such a manner as to be considered at that time as a denial. It was Burnet's policy to evade the question, for had the design been avowed, the enterprise must have failed."^u Sherlock appeared at this time as a writer in favour of the King, in a tract, "*Reflections on the Late and Present Proceedings in England,*" in which he calls for proofs of the various charges contained in the Prince's Declaration.^v The publications of the period shew, how ready many persons were to invent reasons against the legitimacy of the Prince. Thus in one of the numerous productions of the Press, it was even said, that the

^t Somers' Tracts, i, 300, 301.

^u Ibid. 309.

^v Ibid. 319.

Queen had passed the age "at which it was usual for Italian women to bear children."^w Yet the Queen had several children afterwards. In short there was much truth in the following passage from "*Observations on the Revolution*;" "By which Declaration, whoever observes, that the shoe pinches chiefly in the point of the Prince of Wales, who put the Prince of Orange by his hopes of succession even more if it were true than if it were fictitious; and that therefore (at that time especially when it was not to be imagined that the crown could be got upon any other foot) it was absolutely necessary to make him appear fictitious if possible."

Upon the whole, we must regard the Prince's conduct, respecting the Prince of Wales, as a blemish in his character. Nor can any impartial person, however he may be impressed with a sense of the advantages which we are still reaping from the Revolution settlement, fail to acknowledge, that ambition mingled largely with the motives by which William was influenced. We cannot be surprised, therefore, at the strong feelings of some of the Nonjurors towards his Majesty, regarding him, as they did, as the supplanter of their lawful sovereign.*

There is another question, upon which a remark may be made, namely, King William's views re-

^w Somers' Tracts, vol. iv. 89.

* The Tories equally with the Whigs, admitted the necessity of some interference, and were ready to render a tribute of gratitude to William. Thus Ralph, a Tory, but an impartial historian, remarks: "The state of the kingdom, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of the Stuart-family, and of the particular phrenzies and violences of King James was certainly such as required some extraordinary assistance; and the extraordinary assistance then vouchsafed by the Prince of Orange, from what motive soever,

specting the Church of England. He was educated as a Presbyterian ; but I apprehend, that he was indifferent as to the particular form of Protestantism which might prevail. Notwithstanding his sanction of the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, I do not consider him as so hostile to the Church of England as many of the Whigs. “As for those called Whigs, who were the warmest supporters of the Revolution, and are supposed more than others to have acted in it upon the motive of securing our religion, —I will make bold to say of many of them, and that both with truth and justice, that they have no religion but their interest, nor sacrifice to any deity but themselves. The Whig party is, generally speaking, a compound of the atheistical of all opinions and persuasions whatsoever : and they can be of any religion because they are really of none. They will take the sacrament in the Church of England to be qualified to get or hold a place ; and then will herd with the fanatics ever after, that they may be esteemed partizans for our Sovereign Lord, the people.”^y Undoubtedly the Whigs contemplated strong measures against the Church : but happily they were defeated. Nor did the King go the same lengths as his Whig servants. But for the safety of the Church we are indebted to the clergy of that period. The clergy “now began to change their note, both in pulpit and discourse, on their old passive obedience, so as

certainly deserved the highest acknowledgments a kingdom so happily rescued could make. But having admitted this, we may be allowed to wish, perhaps, that the *constitution*, like some ships in like manner thus overset, had been able to right itself ; without being obliged to pay such an extraordinary price for salvage.” Ralph, ii. 1023.

^y Whether the Preserving the Protestant Religion, &c. p. 31.

people began to talk of Bishops being cast out of the House.”^z It is evident, that but for the clergy the Church would have been in jeopardy. “The new Privy Council,” says Evelyn, “have a republican spirit, manifestly undermining all future succession to the throne, and property of the Church of England, which yet I hope they will not be able to accomplish so soon as they expect, though they get into all places of trust and profit.”^a At length the Commons became sensible, that the Church was in some danger; and, therefore, they petitioned the King for a Convocation, at which Burnet and others were angry, but which they could not prevent. Burnet said, that a Convocation would “be the utter ruin of the Comprehension Scheme.”^b He proved a true prophet: for the Convocation was true to the principles of the Church, and the Scheme of Comprehension was dropped—a scheme, which would not have satisfied Dissenters, but which must have disgusted many of the best friends of the Church.

^z Evelyn, iii. 268, 269.

^a Ibid. 279.

^b Reresby, 405.





CHAPTER II.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.—ARGUMENTS RESPECTING IT.—DEATH OF BISHOP LAKE.—HIS CONFESSION.—DEATH OF BISHOP THOMAS.—VARIOUS VIEWS OF THE OATH.—KETTLEWELL.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE CASE.—LATITUDINARIAN PRINCIPLES OF THE TIME.—SANCROFT'S COMMISSION.—FORM OF PRAYER FOR KING WILLIAM.—A NEW LITURGY.—THE BISHOPS CLEAR THEMSELVES.—PLANS SUGGESTED FOR PREVENTING THE SCHISM. SOME COMPLY AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.—BURNET'S INFLUENCE.—HIS CONDUCT EXAMINED.—SANCROFT.—TRIAL OF LORD PRESTON AND MR. ASHTON.—CHARGE AGAINST BISHOP TURNER.—PRAYERS.



THE crown having been settled on William and Mary, it became necessary to adopt measures to secure the stability of the government: and the most important question related to the Oath of Allegiance. In its original state it presented very serious difficulties, inasmuch as it so strongly implied the doctrine of hereditary right. It was therefore altered into the following simple form: "I, A B, do sincerely promise and swear to bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary." The oath of supremacy consisted of two parts: the one an oath of abhorrence of the Pope's excommunicating power: the other a declaration, that no foreign prince or power had, or ought to have, any jurisdiction in this kingdom.

I need not dwell upon the various particulars con-

nected with the conversion of the Convention into a Parliament. It is sufficient for my purpose to state, that the new Oath was taken by the two Houses in March 1688-9, with the exception of some, who entertained scruples on the subject. The Oath was taken by the Archbishop of York, and by the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Bristol, Winchester, Rochester, Llandaff, and St. Asaph's : and subsequently, by the Bishops of Carlisle and St. David's : it was refused by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Turner, Bishop of Ely, Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, White, Bishop of Peterborough, Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, Lake, Bishop of Chichester, and Cartwright, Bishop of Chester. Thomas, Lake, and Cartwright died during the year, and thus six Prelates were left, who refused to swear allegiance to the new Sovereigns. The Act of Parliament required all Ecclesiastical persons to take the Oath before the *first* of August 1689, under pain of suspension from the performance of their duties : but six months were allowed, after suspension, before deprivation : so that those who did not comply before the *first* day of February, 1689-90, would be deprived of their ecclesiastical preferments.

There doubtless would have been difficulties if the Oath had not been enforced : but as no such step would have been required under a Regency, it may fairly be questioned, whether it would not have been better policy not to have imposed the Oath, except in the case of persons actually appointed under the new Sovereigns. In this case, the parties already in possession would have been left unmolested. Such leniency would not have been abused. One argument only, as it appears to me, could be urged with

any force in favour of the universal imposition of the new Oath, namely, that to have dispensed with it might have indicated weakness and fear on the part of the government. Still the dangers, arising from such a course, would have been more than counter-balanced, by the good feeling, which would have been produced in the minds of those, who refused to take the Oath. It would have been well to have prevented the deprivation of so many Bishops and Clergy, at almost any sacrifice.

Many who took the Oath were in a most uncomfortable state of doubt and uncertainty. The question to decide was one of great difficulty: could the men who had sworn allegiance to King James transfer that allegiance to William and Mary? It may appear an unimportant question in the present day: but at that time it presented difficulties of no ordinary magnitude to the minds of all conscientious men. The following extract from a letter written by Nicolson, subsequently Bishop of Carlisle, dated 15th of May, 1689, will shew that even many of those, who eventually complied, were in the greatest embarrassment. "We have now a Prince and Princess seated on the throne, in whom we are ready enough to acknowledge all the accomplishments that we can wish for in our governors, provided their title to the present possession of the crown were unquestionable: and, therefore, methinks we should rather greedily catch at any appearance of proof that may justify their pretensions, than dwell upon such arguments as seemingly overturn them."^a He proceeds to enumerate the arguments which appeared to him to be satisfactory: yet it is clear, that he had considerable scruples

^a Nicolson's Epistolary Correspondence, i. 7, 8.

on the subject. At a later period, indeed, when Bishop of Carlisle, he expresses himself satisfied on the following ground. "Whenever a Sovereign *De Facto* is universally submitted to, and recognized by all the three estates, I must believe that person to be lawful and rightful monarch of this kingdom: who alone has a just title to my allegiance, and to whom only I owe an oath of fealty."^b

This argument undoubtedly satisfied numbers, who took the Oath, and who did not feel themselves called upon to consider the abstract right. But it did not meet the case of those, who were then in possession of benefices, who had taken the Oath to King James, and could not transfer their allegiance to another. They were ready to conduct themselves as peaceable citizens, though they could not promise to do so under an oath, which renounced King James to whom they had sworn allegiance. While, therefore, credit is given for sincerity to those Bishops and Clergy, who complied, charity constrains us to make the same concession in favour of those, who refused. It was one thing to yield obedience to the new Sovereign, it was another to transfer their allegiance by an oath.

But of all persons the Dissenters are the last who can, with any show of reason, traduce the Nonjurors with inconsistency: since they themselves, as has been shewn in the previous chapter, contributed towards the introduction of Popery, by a ready compliance with King James. While they supported the King in his designs against the religion and liberties of the country, the Bishops and Clergy of the Anglican Church, among whom were all the Nonjurors,

^b Nicolson's Epistolary Correspondence, ii. 387.

interposed to prevent those evils, which otherwise would have been unavoidable.

The period between the passing of the Act, requiring all Ecclesiastical persons to take the Oath, and the time fixed for the deprivation of those who should not comply, was a very anxious one, not only to those who subsequently refused to submit, but also to many who submitted. Sancroft and the Bishops absented themselves from the House of Lords: and no feeling bordering on compliance appears to have been entertained by them. They conducted themselves quietly, discharging the duties of their station. On the day on which William and Mary were proclaimed, Henry Wharton officiated in the Archbishop's chapel and prayed for the new Sovereigns. The Archbishop was offended, and requested that no change might be made. Wharton states, that Sancroft derived his views from the Bishops of Norwich, Chichester, and Ely. However, he retained his Chaplains at Lambeth, though they gave in their adhesion to the new government.^c

Lake, Bishop of Chichester, died in the interval, between the passing of the Act and the day fixed for taking the Oath. Soon after his death an account of his last moments was published by Dr. Jenkin. "His Lordship," says the writer, "was one of the seven Bishops, who by their Christian courage and patience disarmed the rage of our Popish adversaries, in the height of their pride and triumph. Nothing greater can be said, than that he was of their number, and that after he had prevented the sending down the declarations into his own diocese, he came in great haste to London, and joined himself to the rest of My Lords the Bishops, and had his share in the whole

^c D'Oyley's Sancroft, i. 436, 437.

management of an affair, as honourable, perhaps, as any thing that has been done in any age.”^d

This estimable man was one of the seven Prelates, who had incurred the wrath of King James, by venturing to refuse to read his Majesty’s Declaration. The writer of the account remarks, “He had afterwards a very worthy part in those applications the Bishops made to his Majesty a little before the Revolution, when they interposed themselves as it were between the King and his people.”^e The writer expresses his wonder at the anger evinced by some persons towards the Bishop, for not taking the Oath, as if his zeal for the Church had become cold. “He considered that the day of *death* and of *judgment*, are as certain as the 1st of *August* and the 1st of *February*, and acted accordingly.”^f It will be remembered that these days were fixed by the Act: the former for suspension, the latter for deprivation in all cases, in which the Oath should not be taken. On the 27th of August he dictated the following profession, being then very ill:

“Being called by a sick and I think a dying bed, and the good hand of God upon me in it, to take the last and best viaticum, the sacrament of my dear Lord’s body and blood, I take myself obliged to make this short recognition and profession.

“That whereas I was baptized into the religion of the Church of England, and sucked it in with my milk, I have constantly adhered to it through the

^d A Defence of the Profession which the Right Reverend Father in God John, late Lord Bishop of Chichester, made upon his death-bed: concerning passive obedience and the new Oaths. Together with an Account of some Passages of his Lordship’s Life. London 1690. pp. 7, 8.

^e Defence, &c.

^f Ibid. p. 9.

whole course of my life, and now, if so be the will of God, shall dye in it: and I had resolved through God's grace assisting me to have dyed so, though at a stake.

“And whereas that religion of the Church of England taught me the doctrine of nonresistance and passive obedience, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the distinguishing character of the Church of England, I adhere no less firmly and steadfastly to that, and in consequence of it, have incurred a suspension from the exercise of my office and expected a deprivation. I find in so doing much inward satisfaction, and if the Oath had been tendered at the peril of my life, I could only have obeyed by suffering.

“I desire you my worthy friends and brethren, to bear witness of this upon occasion, and to believe it, as the words of a dying man, and who is now engaged in the most sacred and solemn act of conversing with God in this world, and may, for ought he knows to the contrary, appear with these very words in his mouth at the dreadful tribunal: “Manu propria Subscripsi,”

JOHANNES CICESTRENSIS.”^g

The writer afterwards remarks, “I shall not doubt to say, that those who cannot take the Oath, yet wish better to their Majesties than these their violent adversaries, and in the end will prove better subjects. Their Majesties are the two persons in the world, whose reign over them, their interest and inclination oblige them most to desire, and nothing but con-

^g Defence, &c. pp. 10, 11. Kettlewell's Life, 87, 88.

science could restrain them from being as forward as any in all expressions of loyalty.”^h

This was undoubtedly the case with many of the Nonjurors. Their feelings were towards King William : but conscience did not permit them to take the Oath, because they considered themselves bound to King James. How desirable, that such men should have been permitted to remain in their posts without taking the Oath !

When this account was published, the Bishop of Worcester was also deceased. In allusion to this circumstance the Author of the *Defence* remarks : “ These two good Bishops spent their dying breath in recommending the doctrines of peace.” In a postscript the writer thus alludes to the Bishop of Worcester’s last moments : “ His Lordship sent for a reverend divine, and after an hour’s discourse concerning the new Oath, and giving his reasons why he could not take it, and expressing a great concern for the clergy who were of another opinion, and particularly for those of his own Diocese, he concluded with these words, *If my heart do not deceive me, and God’s grace do not fail me, I think I could suffer at a stake rather than take this Oath.*”ⁱ

This profession was made only three days before his death. Strange that men should have been so severely attacked for refusing to take the Oath ! The writer of the *Defence* therefore remarks with great truth : “ It is very observable, that the only two Bishops, who have dyed since the refusal of the Oath, have declared, when they had now done with this world, and had no other expectations but of death and judgment, they refused it only upon a principle

^h Defence, &c. 46, 47.

ⁱ Ibid. 64.

of conscience, and all who have any charity or conscience themselves, or the least respect for the Church of England, must give great regard to the dying words of two such Bishops, in whom their worst enemies can find nothing to blame, but that which shall be their eternal honour, that all the temptations and inducements, which probably can happen in any case, could never prevail with them to take an oath against their consciences.”ⁱ

Thus the Bishop of Worcester made a Declaration, in his last moments, to the same effect as Lake’s. It was taken by Hickes, then Dean of Worcester. It appears that the Bishop and the Dean stood almost alone in their refusal in that Diocese.^k

Other opportunities will offer for pointing out the unreasonableness of the charge of Popery, so readily alleged against the Nonjurors : but I cannot refrain from remarking in this place, that the presumptions of insincerity were stronger in the case of those who complied, than in the case of those who refused to take the Oath : because it is always much easier to go with the stream than to run counter to it. Had the Bishops and Clergy consulted their worldly interests, they would have taken the Oath : while in refusing it they sacrificed all temporal advantages.

The old Oath of Allegiance bound the subject to the sovereign, as *rightful and lawful King*. It was argued, that these words implied a precedent title, which could not apply to William, who had no other title than the voice of the people expressed in the Convention. The words were, therefore, omitted in the new Oath : and it appears, that some of James’s

ⁱ Defence, &c. 64.

^k Kettlewell’s Life, 85.

supporters took it, on the alleged ground, that it recognized a distinction between a sovereign *De facto* and *De jure*. They imagined, that they might swear allegiance to the Prince in possession, though they considered the right to the throne to be in another.¹ But the Nonjurors scorned to pursue any course which was not direct and open. They were too conscientious to utter one thing with their lips, while they believed the contrary : or to take the Oath with mental reservation.

The views of the various parties, who took the Oath, are well stated in the following extracts : “ Now it was observed by him, that in those who qualified themselves for having preferment, by taking the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, the disagreement was most considerable as to the principles on which they proceeded herein. For some took the Oath as *lawful*, yet did blame the imposition of it as *hurtful*. Others did esteem the lawfulness of it not as certain, but only as probable ; and hence did not condemn the refusers of it. Others again did esteem it in some sense lawful, but again in another sense unlawful. Some of these took it with a declaration, expressing the sense wherein they could take it, and wherein not : others took it without any open declaration, or explicit interpretation : but with an implicit relaxation of the same, or limitation hereof *so far as they were not antecedently bound*, or as might be consistent with the *laws* of the realm and the *rights* both of Prince and people. Some also there were, and those not a few, who being not able to see through the argument, did after

¹ Dalrymple, i. 304, 305. Mason's Vindication, by Lindsay. Preface lxxxiii.

some pains taken in examination thereof, remain in suspense : and thence were willing to be guided by an *implicit faith*, after the judgment of others for whom they did happen to have a particular deference. Lastly, it is more than probable, that there were great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, who without troubling themselves much to consider the weight of the argument on either side, were easily contented to determine themselves by the prevailing opinion both of lawyers and divines, and by the solemn recognition of the Possessor made at and by the Assembly of the Estates.”^m

There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this account ; so that we ought to be charitable in forming a judgment of those, who could not take the Oath, when so many of those who complied were actuated by such conflicting motives. Some there were, who refused the Oath, and yet did not hesitate to pray for the new Sovereigns : but in a short time they joined themselves to one or other of the great parties, into which the Church was divided.”

Whiston, whose opinions were as far as possible from bigotry, may be regarded as an unexceptionable witness in proof of the difficulties, under which many persons conceived themselves to be placed, in consequence of the Oath. “When I was to go to take orders, I had no mind to apply to a bishop, how ex-

^m Kettlewell’s Life, 91, 92.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 92. Calamy makes it a merit on the part of the Dissenters that they took the Oath. He says they “freely took the Oath.” Undoubtedly they did, having no conscience in the matter, as their previous conduct testified. They had done more for King James, and would have supported any one without regard to principles. Their conduct proves that this remark is just. Calamy, i. 488.

cellent soever, who had come into the place of any who were not satisfied with the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary, and so had been deprived for preferring conscience to preferment." He subsequently considered the Oath lawful in the case of those who had not sworn allegiance to King James. He remarks: "The far greatest part of those, that then took the Oaths, seemed to me to take them with a doubtful conscience, if not against its dictates."°

It is said, that some took the Oath pleading a permission from King James. "There were many others, who justified themselves, by the leave which they said King James had given them before his going off, to act as there should be occasion, and not to throw themselves out of a capacity of going on with business, and of doing justice, when and where an opportunity should present itself. These methods were not at all pleasing to the plain temper of Mr. Kettlewell, who thought they had too much in them of the prudence of this world, and expected not that they would ever be blessed of God."P Kettlewell also took great pains to satisfy the scruples of many who applied to him on the subject. To those who took the Oath in a lower sense than the words implied, he said: "he believed they would find other hardships put upon them, as *fasts* and *thanksgivings*, and that in their practice they would be necessitated to come up to the *highest sense*, though they renounced it (at present) in their words."Q

It must be admitted, that latitudinarian notions on the question of the Oath prevailed to a considerable extent among the complying clergy, and even among

° Whiston's Memoirs, 30.

P Kettlewell, 81, 82.

Q Ibid. 84.

the bishops. Low views of church discipline, church authority, and of the Episcopal office, were entertained by many persons in high stations. With some it was sufficient to leave all ecclesiastical matters to the wisdom of Parliament. Erastian in theory, they necessarily became loose in practice : and had not the Clergy in general maintained their ground, many radical changes would have been introduced. Not a few of the Clergy suspected the King, in consequence of his presbyterian education, of secretly favouring the Dissenters : yet his Majesty after all proved a better Churchman than some, who had been nurtured in the bosom of the Church. A very large body of the Clergy differed from the Nonjurors only on the subject of the Oath : and it is to the exertions of that body, that the preservation of the Church in her integrity must be ascribed. For a time the shock of the Revolution was felt by the Church, in the introduction, among some of her highest ministers, of latitudinarianism ; but providentially in the course of a few years the evil, from which so many sad consequences were apprehended, was greatly mitigated. While there was danger of Popery prior to the Revolution, there was no less danger of latitudinarianism subsequent to that event : so that, while we are thankful to King William for delivering us from the former, we must also be thankful to the Clergy, by whose consistent and determined course the Church was rescued from the latter.*

The more the question, which the clergy had to settle at the Revolution, is considered, the more diffi-

* Hallam admits that tampering with the Liturgy would have nourished the Schism. Yet the Liturgy was at one time in jeopardy. Hallam, iii. 238.

cult will it appear. I am sure that no Churchman can fully enter into the subject, without being convinced, that the Bishops and Clergy were placed in a most perplexing situation. Instead of reflecting on the memory of the Nonjurors, we ought to be thankful, that we are not exposed to a similar trial.

There is too another subject for gratitude, namely, the preservation of Episcopacy. That the Episcopal succession was in some danger will be admitted by all persons, who are acquainted with the circumstances of the period. Suppose, for instance, that all the Bishops had refused the Oaths. In that case none could have been consecrated to act under the new government : and a Presbyterian establishment might have been set up in England, as well as in Scotland. No doubt there are persons in this country who would prefer Presbytery : but the sound members of the Anglican Church regard Episcopacy as an ordinance of God, and they are thankful that it was not placed in jeopardy at the Revolution.

Just at this time the commission was sitting for the purpose of making, or rather suggesting alterations to be made, by convocation, in the Liturgy. The commissioners agreed upon so many, that had they been adopted, the Liturgy would have been quite a different thing from what it was previously. Happily, in consequence of the strong church feeling which prevailed in the convocation, the proposed changes were never submitted to that assembly. Had the design succeeded, the consequences would have been most fatal to the Church, since the greater part of the Clergy would have refused the Oaths, casting in their lot with the Nonjurors : and thus a precedent would have been set for Church Reformers in every age.

Before his suspension, Archbishop Sancroft granted a commission to three of his suffragans to act in his name: and by them Burnet was consecrated to the Bishopric of Salisbury the 31st of May, 1689. The commission did not in any way recognize the new Sovereigns: but it is argued by Birch, "This was as much Archbishop Sancroft's own act, as if he himself had consecrated the new Bishop, and he authorized others to do what he seemed himself to think unlawful."^s The following defence appears to me to meet the charge: "There was yet neither deprivation nor suspension; so that the Ecclesiastical unity was not hitherto dissolved betwixt those who were divided about the political state: and thence if a schism could have been prevented by means of this accommodation, with all the fatal consequences which thereupon have since followed, the good Archbishop (howsoever he might be blamed for it by some) thought it not unlawful for him thus far to acquiesce, it being providentially out of his power to act, as otherwise he would."^t It has been argued that the Archbishop by this act admitted the authority of the government, by which the subsequent deprivations took place: and that consequently, if the authority was competent to nominate to a see, it was also competent to deprive.^u But it appears to me that the extract from the Life of Kettlewell furnishes a sufficient reply to this objection. The cases were

^s Birch's Life of Tillotson, 330.

^t Kettlewell's Life, 135, 136. D'Oyley, i. 439. Le Neve, i. 213. Birch says that some of the Nonjurors complained afterwards of this commission, and that the Document was withdrawn by the Archbishop's order. It was, however, subsequently restored to the Archives at Lambeth. Birch's Tillotson, 330, 332.

^u Marshall's Defence, 156.

dissimilar: and the fact may be taken as another evidence, that it would have been wise on the part of the government, not to have insisted upon the Oaths, except in new appointments. In that case Sancroft would probably have acted where he could personally, and on occasions on which he entertained scruples, he would have granted a commission, as in the consecration of Burnet.

Into the particulars of King William's proceedings in Ireland it is unnecessary to enter. *A day of Fasting and Humiliation* was appointed: and as usual a *Form of Prayer* was issued for the occasion, to be used in all Churches and Chapels for the success of his Majesty. But the opportunity was seized for circulating another *Form*, in which King James was prayed for in the usual manner. It was published by some of James's followers; but the authorship is not known. Large numbers, however, were distributed. It was called *The Jacobite Liturgy*, or *The New Liturgy*. The suspended Bishops were suspected; and some persons of more than ordinary pretensions to wisdom imagined, that they could discover traces of the same hand that had drawn up the *Form*, which had been publicly used prior to the landing of King William. This latter *Form* had been prepared by Sancroft: consequently it was intended to insinuate, that the Archbishop was concerned in this *New Liturgy*. For some time the Bishops were silent, conscious of the utter groundlessness of the charge; but at length, for the satisfaction of others, they deemed it necessary to publish a Vindication. It was signed by Sancroft and four of the Bishops, the Bishop of Gloucester being absent. They however pledged themselves for their absent brother. The *New Liturgy* bore this title,

“ *A Form of Prayer and Humiliation for God’s Blessing upon his Majesty and his Dominions, and for the removing and averting God’s judgments from this Church and State.*”^v The Bishops were charged with setting it forth by their authority, in opposition to that appointed by the government, and against the Revolution. The Archbishop and Bishops, in their *Vindication*, solemnly declare that they knew nothing of the Liturgy or the author: that they never held any correspondence with France: that they were concerned in no plots: and that they should make it their practice to *study to be quiet, to bear their cross patiently, and to seek the good of their native country.* They were charged in certain Pamphlets, consequent upon the publication of this *New Liturgy*, with Popery, and a wish to introduce arbitrary power. The authors of the Pamphlets, however, must have been most unprincipled men, since those Bishops had been the great instruments in preserving both the religion and liberties of the people. They therefore declare, “ We have all of us not long since, either actually or in full preparation of mind, hazarded all we had in the world in opposing Popery and arbitrary power in England: and we shall, by God’s grace, with greater zeal again sacrifice all we have and our very lives too, if God shall be pleased to call us thereto, to prevent Popery, and the arbitrary power

^v The following is one of the petitions: “ Restore us again the public worship of thy name, the reverend administration of the Sacraments, raise up the former government both in Church and State, that we may be no longer without King, without priest, and without God in the world.” It was stated that more than ten thousand copies were circulated, and that it was used in private assemblies instead of the usual service. Bennet’s Memorial of the Reformation, 339, 340. Ralph, ii. 230.

of France, from coming upon us, and prevailing over us: the persecution of our Protestant brethren there being fresh in our memories.”^w

The Bishops were now freed from the charge of being concerned in the New Liturgy, for no one was rash enough to impute it to them after their solemn denial.

After the Archbishop's suspension, Tillotson, in conjunction with the Chapter of Canterbury, was appointed to exercise Archiepiscopal jurisdiction. So strange was this proceeding considered, that even the Bishop of London had his doubts respecting its legality. On the other hand, Stillingfleet, who generally entertained latitudinarian notions on such subjects, contended that it was perfectly legal. His arguments were submitted at length in a letter to the Bishop of London, who probably was not unwilling to be convinced.^x

^w Kettlewell, 105—08. D'Oyley, i. 452—56. Ralph, ii. 231. So great was the enmity of some persons towards the suspended Bishops, that they resorted to the grossest abuse. In a Pamphlet entitled “A Midnight Touch at an unlicensed Pamphlet, called &c.” we met with the following passages: “We do justly term and esteem him who abdicated the throne, no other than the late king: yet we find in the paper this day published, five Clergymen, in defiance of an Act of Parliament, calling themselves, *W. Cant*, *W. Norwich*, *F. Ely*, *T. Bath and Wells*, *T. Peterborough*.” The writer says they ought to have subscribed their names only with the addition “*Late Bishops*, if they pleased.” Then we read: “It is certain that there is a third plot, as that there is a new Liturgy: and that there is a Lambeth Club, the paper now published confesses: but whether holy or not, I know not; and for ought I know the inserting that epithet, holy, both to theirs and the Jacobite or *Devil Tavern Club*, may be a good reason for saying it is abusive.” The scurrilous writer ventures to charge the Bishops with having persecuted English Protestants, and with wishing for the power to do so again.

^x Birch, 154, 155. Stillingfleet's Misc. Discourses, 234—42.

As the day fixed for the deprivation of the Bishops and Clergy, who could not take the Oath, drew near, many persons were anxious to devise means to prevent the schism, which, it was foreseen, would be produced: but nothing appears to have been seriously contemplated by the government. The complying Clergy in general were anxious that the Oath should not be pressed. Efforts were accordingly made to prevent a deprivation. In the Diocese of Norwich a proposal was made, which is thus described by its originator: "At a numerous meeting of the Clergy, I proposed that we should join in a petition to the government, that the rigour of the depriving Act might be mitigated, and our Bishop might be permitted to live and exercise his Episcopal function among us. To this all subscribed very freely, and among the rest, his Grace Dr. Sharp, the late excellent Archbishop of York, though then only Dean of Norwich: but because, if the Oaths were passed by, I supposed the government might justly demand some security for that Bishop's peaceable management in his diocese; therefore I proposed that the whole body of the Clergy there met should offer themselves to become sureties for their Bishop, which, though the rest were most of them afraid to do, that Bishop took my proposal so kindly, that he remembered it to the last, and has often assured me, that had we taken that course, it would have given such satisfaction as would have encouraged those of the other dioceses to have followed the example, and so every one of those holy fathers might have lived and dyed peaceably in their own dioceses: but the sins of an ungrateful nation were too great and too many for us to hope for such a blessing." The

originator of this proposal condemned the separation, though he would have prevented it by not imposing the Oath. The blame he places, where it must be placed, upon the State: "Whatever fault was committed here by their being dismissed from Episcopal jurisdictions in their several dioceses, that lay all at the door of the civil government. The Clergy in general mourned for it: several, purely out of conscience, out of true and real conscience, refused to accept of those dignities, which they knew those excellent men were unjustly deprived of, and yet continued quietly in the exercise of their own functions, and in their less envied stations." This is strong testimony from a complying clergyman: and it will appear the stronger from the fact that he condemned the separation in no doubtful terms. He adds on this point: "Supposing those put in their places to have been schismatical usurpers: why should all those reverend Prelates, who submitted to the then government upon such reasons as were satisfactory to themselves, be branded as schismaticks? Must I commence a schismatick only because I differ from some of my brethren in points purely political: though I conform entirely to all the orders of the same Church, worship God by the same liturgy, and acknowledge and assert the same Church government, and that only to be of divine right?"

A petition was also presented from the diocese of Bath and Wells. The petitioners stated, that they should have been happy if the objectors could have taken the Oaths; that, however, they had formerly exposed themselves for the common safety; and that

ʏ Milbourne's Legacy, 8vo. Vol. ii. 341, 342, 345.

they were ready to stand engaged for their peaceable conduct.^z

Many persons were anxious for an Act of Parliament to relieve the Bishops from the Oath, provided they would undertake to perform the duties of their office: but the Prelates would make no other promise, than that they would live quietly. Whether the King and the Ministers ever seriously contemplated such a thing, it is not possible to determine: but it is a matter of deep regret, that such a course was not pursued. There might have been some difficulty respecting the public services, as the Bishops, who could not take the Oath, might not have joined in prayer for King William: but a little forbearance on the part of the government would probably have led to a favourable issue. The pledge of the Bishops to live quietly would have been scrupulously observed: and had the Oath been dispensed with, I am inclined to believe, that the question respecting the prayers would have been so managed, that the schism would have been prevented. At all events, the experiment merited a trial. It would have been a gratification to all sound Churchmen to have seen Sancroft, and Ken, and their companions, remaining in possession of their Sees, and exercising their jurisdiction in the Church.

But there were other parties, who hurried on the government to strong and decided measures against the Nonjurors. The Presbyterians in Scotland, and the Dissenters in England, insinuated that William's throne would have been endangered by their plots: though these excellent men never plotted against the government even after deprivation. Assuredly they

^z Bowles's *Life of Ken*, ii. 194—96.

would not have done so, if lenity and forbearance had been manifested towards them in the difficult position in which they stood with respect to the Oath. It might not have been easy for William to refuse to listen to those who urged him forward ; since hesitation on his part would have exposed him to the charge of deserting his most active supporters ; but the exercise of forbearance towards men, whose only crime, even in the estimation of their enemies, was their regard for a solemn oath, would have produced the happiest results. It must be a source of thankfulness, that the schism was not more fatal in its consequences. Had there been no dissensions among the Nonjurors themselves in subsequent reigns, the separation would not only have continued longer, but it would have been of a more serious character.

The reflections of some of our historians, on the non-complying Bishops, are very uncharitable. Thus Kennet remarks, “ Though they had earnestly desired the Prince’s coming, and had the chief of them addressed themselves to him after he was come, to take the administration of affairs : yet, as if they would have him their redeemer without being their protector, they did not care to pay any allegiance to him, nor to renounce their obligations to King James. This example of the Prelates and Clergy had a great influence on many other members of the Church of England ; and it was their disaffection that made the King more inclinable to favour the Dissenters, whom he generally looked upon as better affected to his person and title.”^a There was no inconsistency, as Kennet insinuates : for though they wished the Prince to act as a mediator, they did not contemplate the

^a Kennet, iii. 518.

removal of their Sovereign. Sancroft and the Bishops were determined to preserve the Church at all hazards: and in pursuing the course, which their consciences dictated, they hesitated not to go to the Tower. They suffered more in defence of Protestant principles, than those who have so severely reflected on their memory.

After King James had retired from Ireland, leaving King William in quiet possession of the crown, some of the Clergy, who hitherto had hesitated respecting their course, began to consider, whether they might not now submit and take the Oath. "Some there were who could not be brought to transfer their allegiance from him to another, by invocation of God's name: but who now, upon second thoughts, considering the desperate state of his affairs, were willing to be convinced, that both their interest and duty might be made to go together, and that a right of *providential possession* ought no longer to be disputed by them."^b This was during the six months of suspension appointed by the Act. It is said, that offers were made to some, to induce compliance, though few only accepted them. "However," says the writer of Kettlewell's Life, "the forces of the Ecclesiastical Nonjurants were sensibly diminished: proportionable strength being added thereby to the Jurant Clergy, if strength consist in number." He adds, "Moreover it was expected by many, that some favour would have been shewn this Session to the ecclesiastics under suspension for declining the Oath, or at least to the more considerable of them: and some assurances are said to have been given to this effect by persons of no mean figure and

^b Kettlewell's Life, 112.

interest. Mr. Kettlewell was none of those that were too apt to flatter themselves with success of one sort or the other, or to fix much upon any earthly dependencies, or human promises and engagements: but was prepared for the worst, which he expected." It was urged in Parliament, "That the statute had already had its effect in good part, that penal laws touching religion have sometimes been made by our Parliaments more *in terrorem* than otherwise, and that if in any case there was, there never could be a better plea than this."^c Still no serious attempt was made by those in authority to prevent the Act from taking effect on the appointed day, the *first* of February. "If moderation had swayed, the tender consciences of the Bishops, who would not take the Oaths, would never have been an inconvenience to the state. Candour will not blame them. No interest would have been injured, and a disagreeable division would have been prevented."^d

It was now forgotten, that these very Bishops had been the saviours of the country only a short time before. They had risked every thing in the cause of the Church under King James: and now they must lose all for conscientiously adhering to an oath. It is evident, that they were the uncompromising opponents of Popery, for they had given the fullest evidence on this head: while many who now opposed them had contributed towards its support. Such men, therefore, though they could not take the Oath to the new Sovereigns, would not have disturbed the government. They would have lived quietly and peaceably according to their promise. Their sincerity

^c Kettlewell's Life, 113.

^d Noble, i. 87.

respecting the Oaths was evinced by their sacrifices : and their zeal for the Church was never disputed, except by men, who cared neither for the Church nor for religion.

The supporters of the government were greatly divided in opinion respecting the principles, on which the title of King William to the crown was founded. Many were content with the Parliamentary vote, considering it all-sufficient ; but others endeavoured to seek out more specious reasons for their conduct. They agreed with the Nonjurors in principle, and laboured to shew, that they acted consistently in adhering to King William. Perhaps the following extract gives the best view of the notions entertained by a very large class of William's supporters :—" My principles are the same as they were ; my allegiance has descended in the same manner to King William and Queen Mary as it did to Charles II. and James II. not altered in the least degree or reason of it. They were in their times the ministers of God, and the lawful and undoubted Sovereigns of the English nation, and so are these : the same God that set up Charles II. and James II. when so great a part of the nation did what they could to have the first of them *abjured*, and the second *excluded* : the same God, I say, has by his providence set King William and Queen Mary on the throne : and by His grace I will bear the same faith and allegiance to them as I did to the former : and for the same cause. For my part I believe our now most gracious Sovereigns, King William and Queen Mary, are both *de jure* and *de facto* as lawful King and Queen of England, by hereditary right, which commenced from the time that the late King James left the throne, though it was not de-

clared till the 12th of February following, as ever sat upon the throne.”^e

It has been supposed, that Burnet had no inconsiderable influence in preventing the adoption of moderate measures with the non-complying Clergy. He wished the Oath to be enforced, regardless of consequences. It would have been more consistent as a minister of peace, to have recommended gentle and healing measures. It is certain, however, that he would have proceeded to still more violent steps, if his own course had been unchecked; but happily, all the complying Clergy were not like Burnet: so that William soon discovered, that the feeling in favour of the Church of England was stronger than he had at first anticipated. The Clergy as a body were true to their principles. They did not intend to renounce their creed, because circumstances had compelled them to renounce King James: but it must be confessed, that if all the Bishops and Clergy had been of the same stamp with Burnet and some others, whose principles had been derived from foreign sources, the Anglican Church would have been destroyed, as a State Establishment, while the true followers of the English Reformation must have cast in their lot with the Nonjurors. Evelyn lamented the course which was pursued respecting the Oath: but he distinctly attributes it to Presbyterian counsels, with

^e A Letter to the Authors of the Answers to the Case of Allegiance, pp. 4, 5. It has been well remarked: “The blessings which have been derived to us from this great event make every Englishman anxious to justify the principles on which it was carried on: but, after all, it seems much more clear, that the Revolution was necessary, than easy to justify it on any permanent principles.” Short’s History of the Church of England, ii. 375.

which Burnet could easily comply. “The penalty is to be the losse of their dignitie and spiritual preferment. This is thought to have ben driven on by the Presbyterians, our new governors. God in mercy send us help, and direct the counsels to his glory and good of his Church.”^f

William did not find the Whigs so pliable as perhaps was expected. They thwarted him in some of his schemes : but in any step, calculated to weaken the Church or to degrade the Clergy, their support was readily and cordially yielded. Burnet, however, was an actor in all the events of the period : and some notices respecting his influence may serve to reflect light on the transactions, in which King William acted so conspicuous a part. It appears to me, that Burnet’s conduct from the beginning admits of no justification. In his history, he gives a very partial account of his own proceedings ; but the facts, which remain on record, point him out as one of the chief advisers of those strong measures, which were adopted with respect to the Nonjurors. The part he acted at Exeter, soon after the Prince’s arrival, appears unworthy of a Christian minister. “On the 9th, the Prince commanded Dr. Burnet to order the Priest Vicars not to pray for the Prince of Wales, and to make use of no other prayer for the King, but what is in the Second service, which they refused to observe till they were forced, and very severely threatened : the Bishop and the Dean being then gone from the city. About twelve, this day, notice was given to the Canons, and all the Vicars choral and singing lads, to attend in the Cathedral, for that the Prince would be there : and Dr. Burnet ordered

^f Evelyn, iii. 281.

them, as soon as the Prince entered into the choir, they should sing *Te Deum*, which was observed. The Prince sat in the Bishop's chair. After *Te Deum*, Dr. Burnet, in a seat under the pulpit, read aloud the Prince's Declaration."^s In his own History Burnet merely says, that the Clergy were fearful, and that the Bishop and Dean ran away. Yet he himself was the most prominent actor in the city of Exeter: and it seems difficult to reconcile his conduct with his avowed principles, as a Clergyman of the Anglican Church.

It appears almost impossible to respect such a character. Very soon after William had obtained possession of the throne, he appointed Burnet to the See of Salisbury: but it is evident, that he cared little for the Church, in which he was made a Bishop. "In profession a Prelate, a Dissenter in sentiment. To protect Protestantism against Popery there was no character, however infamous, he would not defend."^h He was a thorough partizan, and a scheming politician.ⁱ Appointed as he was to the See of Salis-

^s Somers' Tracts, xiv. 260, 261. Calamy's Life, Notes, i. 193, 194. There was an odd assortment of persons with the Prince on his coming to England. Thus while Burnet was preaching in the cathedral at Exeter: "Ferguson preached in the Presbyterian Meeting House, but was fain to force his way with his sword up to the Pulpit, for even the old Presbyter himself could not away with the breath of his brother Ferguson in his Diocese." Somers' Tracts, xiv. 261. Ralph, i. 1038. Burnet also preached at Exeter in the Cathedral, asserting that God was on the Prince's side, "and had now chose to begin the deliverance of England, on the same day that it had formerly been devoted to ruin and destruction. This is a circumstance in his history he has thought fit to pass over." Ibid.

^h Noble, i. 83.

ⁱ It is said that he gave early intimation to the court of Hanover, of the project of the Revolution, intimating that the success

bury, he could not expect that his opinions would have much weight with the Clergy : yet he ventured to address them, in a *Pastoral Letter*, before he quitted London. This was written under the plea, that he was detained in London ; but really, that he might put forth his views respecting the Oath of Allegiance, which was the subject of the Letter. The opinions which he advanced were such as no right-minded Englishman could maintain. “ Since I cannot,” says he, “ yet come to do the duties of my function among you, I think myself obliged to supply my absence by watching over you as effectually as I can at this distance.” He proceeds at once to the Oath of Allegiance ; and after many arguments, which probably most men would admit, he comes to the reasons, which induced the Prince of Orange to act. “ Even at Common Law an heir in remainder has just cause to sue him that is in possession, if he makes waste on the inheritance, which is his in reversion. It is much more reasonable, since the thing is much more important, that the heir of a crown should interpose, when he sees him that is in possession hurried on blindfold to subject an independent kingdom to a foreign jurisdiction, and thereby to rob it both of its glory, and its security. And when a pretended heir was set up in such a manner, that the whole kingdom believed him spurious. In such a case it cannot be denied, even ac-

of the enterprize might lead to the entail of the crown on that illustrious house. Biog. Brit. Art. Burnet. Ralph calls him, “ The Champion in Ordinary of the Revolution, and ready to enter the lists against all comers.” Ralph, ii. 3. Alluding to his elevation to the Episcopal bench, the same historian remarks : “ and thus our Historian, in acknowledgement of his many services, became a Lord of Parliament.” Ibid. 59.

according to the highest principles of passive obedience, that another sovereign Prince might make war on a king so abusing his power: and that this was the case in fact, will not be called in question by any Protestant. So then here was a war begun upon just and lawful grounds, and a war being so begun, it is the uncontroverted opinion of all lawyers, *that the success of a just war gives a lawful title to that which is acquired in the progress of it.* Therefore King James, having so far sunk in the war that he both abandoned his people and deserted the government, all his right and title did accrue to the King, in the right of a conquest over him: so that if he had then assumed the crown, the opinion of all lawyers must have been on his side: but he chose rather to leave the matter to the determination of the Peers and people of England, chosen and assembled together with all possible freedom, who did upon that declare him their king: so that with relation to King James's rights, he was vested with them by the successes of a just war, and yet he was willing with relation to the people to receive the crown by their declaration, rather than to hold it in the right of his sword."^k

I cannot but consider this a most improper course to be pursued by a Bishop of the Anglican Church: and within the space of two years after, the same view was taken by the House of Commons. The notion of a right in King William by Conquest was asserted in a pamphlet, intitled, "*King William and Queen Mary Conquerors:*" and when this obnoxious

^k A Pastoral Writ by the Right Reverend Father in God, Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum, to the Clergy of his Diocese, concerning the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. 4to. London, pp. 20, 21.

production was brought under the cognizance of Parliament in 1692, Burnet's *Pastoral Letter* was joined with it in the same vote. Both the pamphlet and the Letter were ordered to be publicly burnt. Kennet intimates his opinion, that the latter was sacrificed "to a poor jest upon the Author's name." He adds: "The majority in the warmth of debating, and some of 'em for the sake of allusion to the Author's name, passed the same censure on that excellent letter, and ordered it publicly to be burnt by the common executioner. On January the 24th the Lords came to a like resolution: *that the assertion of King William and Queen Mary's being King and Queen by Conquest, was highly injurious to their Majesties, and inconsistent with the principles on which the government is founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people. Which Vote being communicated to the Commons, that house on the next day unanimously concurred with their Lordships, with the remarkable addition of some words: viz. injurious to their Majesties' rightful title to the crown of this realm.*"¹

It seems very difficult to acquit Burnet of duplicity in constantly treating the son of James II. as a supposititious child. It was a political trick, and served to amuse the common people: but Burnet could not have believed his own assertions. In this light was the thing regarded by William, who never fulfilled his promise of examining the matter: but

¹ Kennet, iii. 549, 657. Salmon, i. 267. The Pamphlet "King William and Queen Mary Conquerors" was written by Mr. Blount. Ralph remarks that it contains no sentiment which had not been broached in Lloyd's (Bishop of Worcester) Sermon on the 5th of November, 1690, preached before their Majesties. Ralph, ii. 399.

Burnet gravely asserts the spuriousness of the child, when it must be evident, that he knew the contrary. This circumstance seems to justify the severity of Lord Dartmouth's remark. In one of his notes on his History, his Lordship expresses an opinion, that Burnet would not designedly publish any thing which he believed to be false: but in another note on the second volume he writes: "I wrote in the first volume of this book, that I did not believe the Bishop designedly published anything he believed to be false: therefore think myself obliged to write in this, that I am fully satisfied that he published many things that he knew to be so." The following testimony is from a friendly pen: "Several other works shew him to be a man neither of prudence nor temper: his sometimes opposing and sometimes favoring the Dissenters, hath much exposed him to the generality of the people of England."^m

Before we proceed further, a circumstance must be mentioned relative to Archbishop Sancroft, which may shield his memory from the imputation of a popish leaning. Besides his refusal to sanction the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, he printed

^m Macky's Memoirs, p. 139. It appears from a disgraceful circumstance at his funeral, that Burnet was in no favour with the populace. The following extract, though disgraceful to the people, is sufficient evidence of unpopularity. "Last Tuesday night (March 22, 1714-15) the body of that great and good man, the late Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, was interred near the Communion Table, in Clerkenwell Church. As the corpse was conveying to the Church, the rabble (that shews no distinction to men of great parts and learning, when once they conceive an ill opinion of them) flung dirt and stones at the hearse, and broke the glasses of the coach that immediately followed it." *Gent's Mag.* 1788, Vol. lviii. 952. From a Letter containing an extract from a newspaper of the period.

and circulated a series of *Articles*, which were sent to all the Bishops of his Province in July 1688. They shew, that the Archbishop was no enemy to liberty of conscience; but only to the exercise of a dispensing power in the crown. These *Articles* were also accompanied with a Letter dated July 27, in which it is stated: "Yesterday the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the *Articles*, which I send you enclosed, to those Bishops who are at present in this place: and ordered copies of them to be likewise sent in his name to the absent Bishops: by the contents of them, you will see that the storm in which he is, does not frighten him from doing his duty: and indeed, the zeal, that he expresses in these *Articles* both against the corruptions of the Church of Rome on the one hand, and the unhappy differences that are among Protestants on the other, are such Apostolical things, that all good men rejoice to see so great a prelate at the head of our Church, who at this critical time has had the courage to do his duty in so signal a manner." In these *Articles* the Archbishop recommends *Catechizing*, and expounding the grounds of the Christian Religion. One is important, as shewing the Archbishop's consistency in opposing Popery, and yet adhering strictly to the order of the Church of England: "That they perform the daily office publicly in all market and other great towns, and even in villages and less populous places bring people to public prayers as frequently as may be: especially on such days and at such times as the Rubrics and Canons appoint, on *Holy Days*, and their *Eves*, on *Ember* and *Rogation Days*, on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* in each week, and especially in *Advent* and *Lent*." I quote this Article, because in the present day, when it cannot be pleaded, that

the danger of the introduction of Popery is so great as at the period of the Revolution, there are persons, who look upon a compliance with the *Rubrics* and *Canons* as a symptom of Popery, and who cannot oppose Romanism without opposing their own Church at the same time. These individuals have never done so much against Popery, or suffered so much for the sake of the truth, as Archbishop Sancroft : and it is evident, that the most consistent Churchmen are the most effective opponents of Rome.

In the *seventh* Article, the Archbishop recommends, that the Clergy should explain to the people, at least four times a year, that the Papal Supremacy was an usurpation. Alluding in the *tenth* to the means adopted by the Romish Priests, especially with people in dying circumstances, he recommends the utmost diligence on the part of the clergy : “ Thus with their utmost diligence, watching over every sheep within their fold (especially in that critical moment) lest those *evening wolves* devour them.”

Sancroft moreover recommended “ more especially that they have a very tender regard to our *brethren*, the *Protestant Dissenters* : that upon occasion offered they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet with them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them : persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our Church, or at least that whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule and mind the same thing. And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them that the Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome.” In this way did he write, who

has since been traduced by party writers, as a Papist and a bigot.ⁿ

Not long before the day fixed by the Act for the deprivation of the Bishops a plot against the government was discovered, in which Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton and some others were implicated. Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were tried and executed ; but the evidence on which the conviction was founded was of a very slender description. A quantity of letters was discovered in the possession of Lord Preston, among which were two, said to be written by Turner, Bishop of Ely. In one, the writer says, "I speak in the plural, because I write my elder brother's sentiments as well as my own, and the rest of the family, though lessened in number ; yet if we are not mightily out in our accounts, we are growing in our interest, that is in yours." In the second letter, the writer, after expressing his determination not to swerve from his course, adds, "I say this in behalf of my elder brother, and the rest of my nearest relations, as well as for myself."^o That these letters were written by the Bishop of Ely was never proved ; but Burnet and others chose to assert, that the proof was conclusive. It is indeed doubtful whether the other parties were engaged in any plot. "In December 1690, says Wood, there was a pretended discovery of a pretended plot of the Jacobites or Nonjurors, whereupon some of them were imprisoned ; and Dr. Turner being suspected to be in the same pretended plot, he withdrew and absconded."^p A proclamation was issued for the apprehension of the Bishop of Ely, but not for some time after, not indeed until the 5th of February,

ⁿ See the Articles printed at the time.

^o Ralph, ii. 255, where the correspondence is printed.

^p Wood's Athenæ.

when the sees of the Bishops were become vacant by the operation of the Act of Parliament. This circumstance seems to support the idea, that the charge against Turner was made for the purpose of reflecting odium on the Nonjuring Prelates, that so the government might have a better colour for filling up the vacancies. Tindal, who assumes the guilt of Turner, says that the discovery of the Bishop of Ely's correspondence gave the King a fair opportunity to fill up the vacant sees.¹ As Turner was permitted to live quietly afterward, we may assume that the government did not consider him guilty. Burnet says: "The discovery of the Bishop of Ely's correspondence in the name of the rest, gave the King a great advantage in filling these vacant sees, which he resolved to do on his return from the Congress." Burnet produces no evidence against Turner: and I cannot but conclude, that the charge was not only unfounded, but that it was fabricated for the purpose of rendering the suspended Bishops obnoxious to the people at the period, when the strong step of removing them from their sees was about to be put in execution. The circumstances are peculiar. The plot was discovered in December: the trials occurred in January: Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were executed during that month: and the *First* of February was the day fixed by Act of Parliament for the deprivation of the Bishops. A charge, therefore, against Turner, and such a charge as implicated Sancroft and the rest of the Bishops, was the very thing to excite the public mind, and to deprive them of that sympathy, which their sufferings in the cause of the Church in the previous reign, and their present misfortunes, were

¹ Tindal, i. 166.

likely to produce. Calamy rather improves upon Burnet : he says, the sees were not filled “ till letters were discovered that shewed what correspondencies and engagements there were among them.”^q This is from a man who professed a great regard for truth and holiness : yet he joins in traducing men, without any evidence whatever.

Some particulars respecting Mr. Ashton’s trial and conviction may be acceptable to those, who may not have access to the works, in which the accounts are preserved. The charge was, that he had written letters and papers for the use of the King of France. A rumour was circulated that he was a Romanist : consequently several witnesses were produced to prove that he was a Protestant. Dr. Fitzwilliam alleged, that Ashton had received the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper only six months before in Ely Chapel. This was of course under Turner, the Bishop of Ely. A juryman, therefore, asked whether the Prayers were read for King William and Queen Mary ? the Doctor replied, that he could not say that they were altered : but, in reply to another question, he admitted that the names, as inserted in the altered Prayers, were not mentioned. He added, that he had been a hundred times at Prayers in their altered state. The witness was then asked if he had taken the Oaths to the King and Queen. He replied : “ No, I have not, Sir, that’s my unhappiness : but I know how to submit and live peaceably under them.” He also added, “ If any one can say I have done or acted any thing against the government, I will readily submit to be punished for it.” This was the case with the great mass of the Nonjurors : yet such men

^q Calamy, i. 485.

were branded as Papists, and by persons too who had gone all lengths with King James.

Though there was much reason to doubt the actual guilt of Ashton, and it was probable that he knew not the contents of the papers which were found on his person, having picked up the parcel which had been dropped by Lord Preston, whom in honour he would not betray, yet he was convicted, and received sentence of death. He was executed on the 28th of January. At the place of execution he was attended by two clergymen, one of whom, as we find from his own statement in connexion with his absolution of Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, was Collier. He says, indeed, that he absolved Mr. Ashton by the imposition of hands, as in the latter case. In the paper delivered to the Sheriff, he declares himself a member of the Church of England. With respect to King James, he says: "When I add these considerations: that we had solemnly professed our allegiance, and often confirmed it with oaths; that his Majesty's usage after the Prince of Orange's arrival was very hard, severe, and unjust: and that all the new methods of settling this nation have hitherto made it more miserable, poor, and more exposed to foreign enemies: and that the religion we pretend to be proud of preserving, is now, much more than ever, likely to be destroyed: there seemed to be no way to prevent the impending evils but the calling home an injured Sovereign." He then admits, that appearances were against him; but he declares himself innocent of the particular charge, namely, any knowledge of the contents of the papers. By the Nonjurors he was naturally regarded as a martyr to loyal principles. Kennet says that there was a plan for restoring James through the aid of France, and

that the royal clemency was so manifest, that Ashton only suffered.^r

In 1691 a small volume of Prayers was privately printed by a Nonjuror. With the volume there is a portrait of John Ashton: but whether this was the gentleman who was executed, or whether he was the author of the Prayers, I am unable to determine. It is not improbable that Grascome, or some other Nonjuring Clergyman was the author, and that the portrait of Ashton, who had recently been executed, and who was regarded as a martyr to Nonjuring principles, was inserted, both as a memorial of the sufferer in a manual of devotion, and as a recommendation to the volume. The book is a remarkable one, as exhibiting the views of the Nonjurors respecting King James, for whom there are several petitions, though he is not mentioned by name. The Prayers are generally couched in Scriptural language, and consist of confessions of sin, with supplications for divine mercy.^s

^r State Trials, iv. 485, 487. viii. App. 483, 484. Kennet, iii. 575, 576.

^s An Office for Penitents. Or a Form of Prayer fit to be used in sinful and distracted times. 12mo. London. Printed in the year 1691.





CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1690—1694.

THE DEPRIVATIONS.—NUMBERS.—SANCROFT'S RETIREMENT.—HICKES'S PROTEST.—DODWELL'S LETTER TO TILLOTSON.—BEVERIDGE AND OTHERS REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE VACANT SEES.—KIDDER'S SCRUPLES.—STILLINGFLEET'S LETTER.—FORGERY BY YOUNG AND BLACKHEAD.—THE DEPRIVED BISHOPS SEPARATE FROM THE CHURCH.—SANCROFT DELEGATES HIS POWERS TO LLOYD.—HICKES AND WAGSTAFFE CONSECRATED.—DEATH OF SANCROFT.—HIS CHARACTER AND SUFFERINGS.—THE NONJURORS' DEFENCE OF THEIR PROCEEDINGS.—SOME OBJECT TO A SEPARATION.—THE DIFFICULTIES OF THEIR CASE.—SEVERITY OF THE GOVERNMENT.



THE Bishops and Clergy remained in possession of their respective preferments, until the day fixed by the act of Parliament for their deprivation; but from the *first* of August 1690 to the *first* of February 1690-91, they were suspended from the performance of their ecclesiastical functions. This was a *lay*, not a *canonical* deprivation; consequently no process was adopted against the Bishops and Clergy, as is the case, when parties are charged with any ecclesiastical irregularity. By the Act of Parliament, it was declared, that all Clergymen, who did not take the Oath of Allegiance before the *first* day of February 1690-91, should be deprived of their benefices. When, therefore, the day arrived, the patrons were at liberty to present other individuals: and the government con-

sidered themselves in a situation to appoint to the sees of the deprived prelates.

That the approach of the day was contemplated with much anxiety, by all parties, is evident. Some of those, who had hitherto scrupled to take the Oath, complied at the last moment, and thus avoided deprivation: but the majority had counted the cost, and remained firm in their adherence to the principle, on which they had acted ever since the new Oath had been proposed. On the *first* day of February, therefore, Sancroft, Turner, Frampton, White, and Ken, were deprived by Act of Parliament of their sees. They were restrained from the exercise of their office in their dioceses, as well as deprived of the incomes of their respective bishoprics: but their spiritual character could not be touched by an Act of Parliament. After the *first* of February 1690-91 they were bishops of the Catholic Church, though they were precluded from the public exercise of their sacred functions, by authority of the civil power. The example of the Bishops was followed by about *four hundred* of the Clergy, most, if not all of whom, would have lived quietly and peaceably, discharging the duties of their office with diligence, if the government could have dispensed with the Oath of Allegiance. This was a considerable number; and when we consider, that all of them were so conscientious, as to prefer principle to expediency or interest, we cannot but regret, that some means were not adopted to prevent such a sad separation. The names of many of these peaceable sufferers are preserved in the Life of Kettlewell. Some, however, were omitted, and it is not now possible to recover them. In this list are the names of some of the chief men in the kingdom, both with respect to learning and influence. Not un-

frequently the Nonjurors are spoken of contemptuously, as men of narrow minds and perverted principles: but no one, who fully examines the subject, will indulge in such a tone of remark respecting men, who suffered so much from adherence to their principles.^a

Most of the Clergy quietly quitted their livings on the *first* of February: but some of the Bishops and Dignitaries felt themselves bound to offer such resistance as they were able. Sancroft, therefore, did not immediately remove from his palace. He was permitted to remain for a season; but only in the hope, that he would retire quietly, in obedience to the Act. During his continuance at Lambeth, his Chaplains, Wharton and Needham, were in constant attendance, even after they had taken the Oath to William and Mary. The Archbishop was also anxious

^a Kettlewell, Appen. No. vi. for the List of Names. Mr. Bowles also has published a list differing only in some few names from that in the Life of Kettlewell. He observes, that he was not aware of any published list. See also "The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England," pp. 71, 72. Mr. Hallam's testimony is too important not to be noticed. "Eight Bishops, including the Primate and several of those who had been foremost in the defence of the Church during the late reign, with about four hundred of the Clergy, some of them highly distinguished, chose the more honourable course of refusing the new Oaths: and thus began the Schism of the Nonjurors, more mischievous in its commencement than its continuance, and not so dangerous to the government of William III. and George I. as the false submission of less sincere men." He adds in a note, after assigning reasons in favour of the imposition of the Oath, "Yet the effect of this expulsion was highly unfavourable to the new government: and it required all the influence of a Latitudinarian School of Divinity, led by Locke, which was very strong among the laity, under William, to counteract it." Const. Hist. iii. 148. Thus we have the unbiassed opinion of Mr. Hallam, that the Theology of the Revolution was of a Latitudinarian tendency.

to prevent a schism in the Church, which he perceived to be inevitable, if the Oath were enforced. The fact, that the Bishops were willing to remain in their sees, may be regarded as an evidence of their desire to comply with the existing government, as far as they could do so, without offering violence to their conscience: and had some relaxation in the matter of the Oath been permitted, the happiest consequences would have ensued.

It was intended, that Tillotson should succeed the Archbishop; yet his nomination did not take place until the 23rd of April 1691. He was confirmed in the see on the 1st of May. It is clear from this delay, that the government were reluctant to interfere: yet it is equally certain, that their reluctance arose only from the apprehension, that the public feeling would be against the measure. It was also hoped, that Sancroft would retire, and thus make way for Tillotson: but as the Archbishop did not recognize the authority by which he had been deprived, he refused to quit the palace. A process of ejectment, therefore, was commenced. Judgment was given on the 23rd of June: and on the same day, as force would otherwise have been applied, the good Archbishop quitted the palace. He proceeded by water to the Temple, where he remained six weeks: after which he retired to Fresingfield, his native place, which he never quitted.^b

^b D'Oyley's Sancroft, i. 462—470. Birch's Life of Tillotson, 246—248. "It must be acknowledged," says Comber, "by Dr. Sancroft's greatest enemies, that he acted on this occasion from principle, and on a thorough conviction, that it was not lawful to acknowledge any person as king during the life of James II. It was so manifestly against his interest, that a firm persuasion of its being his duty could alone have induced him to make so great a sacrifice." Comber's Life, 291.

Hickes drew up a Protest against his ejection and affixed it to the Cathedral Church of Worcester, of which he was dean. It was addressed to the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries. Mr. Talbot had been appointed by the government : and against this appointment Hickes protested as illegal. He, therefore, after asserting his own claims, called upon the Sub-Dean to support him in the maintenance of his rights. The Instrument, which is preserved in the Life of Kettlewell, was dated the 2nd of May 1691.^c

Before Tillotson's consecration, Dodwell endeavoured to dissuade him from accepting the Archbishopric. For this purpose, he addressed him in a letter, in which he beseeches him not to be the aggressor in the new schism, "in erecting another altar against the hitherto acknowledged altar of your deprived Fathers and brethren. If their places be not vacant, the new consecrations must, by the nature of the *spiritual monarchy*, be null, and invalid, and schismatical."^d It appears, that some reluctance to succeed Sancroft was manifested by Tillotson, which Dodwell endeavoured to strengthen. It is, however, probable, that his *Erastian* notions of ecclesiastical matters led him to think, that he was serving the Church by accepting the dignity, and that Sancroft was justly deprived for refusing the Oath.

Beveridge was nominated to the see of Bath and Wells : but this eminent man, though he had taken

^c Kettlewell. Appendix. A pamphlet was published on the subject, under the following title : " Passive Obedience in Actual Resistance : or Remarks upon a Paper fixed up in the Cathedral Church of Worcester, by Dr. Hickes, with Reflections on the present behaviour of the rest of the family." It is scurrilous and abusive ; and, therefore, entitled to no consideration.

^d Birch, 268, 269.

the Oath to the new government, positively refused to become the successor of Ken, during that Prelate's life.^e At last, Kidder was commanded by the Queen to accept it: yet he complied with considerable reluctance. Mr. Bowles gives, from a MS. preserved in the palace at Wells, a very curious account of Kidder's acceptance of the see. This account was drawn up by Kidder himself. He states, that in the spring the bishopric of Peterborough was proposed to him for his acceptance, and that he had absolutely refused it. In his account of the manner, in which he had given his refusal, he says, "I added also, that I cared not to accept any other bishopric. And this I did, that I might avoid any further solicitation that way." In this document he alludes to Beveridge's refusal, stating that the see remained vacant for some time after. He then wrote to Dr. Williams, that he would not refuse another bishopric, though he must decline Bath and Wells. Williams communicated to Tillotson, that Kidder would accept a bishopric; but he concealed the exception respecting Ken's Diocese. He says, "Though I cannot say I thought it unlawful, yet I did not think it convenient for me to do it. I knew very well that I should be able to do less good, if I came into a bishopric void by deprivation." Soon after, the Queen sent her commands: and Kidder replied that he would accept

^e Beveridge consulted Sancroft on the subject. Evelyn informs us that Sancroft told him: "That Dr. Beveridge came to ask his advice: that the Archbishop told him, though he should give it, he believed he would not take it: the Doctor said he would: why then, says the Archbishop, when they came to aske, say *Nolo*, and say it from the heart: there is nothing easier than to resolve yourselfe what is to be done in the case: the Doctor seemed to deliberate." Vol. iii. 304.

the see, unless her Majesty would excuse him, or select some other person. He adds, "And this perhaps I did, not as wisely as I should. I cannot say I did it against my conscience; but of this I am sure, that, since I have considered things better, I should not have done it, were it to do again. I did not consult my ease. I have often *repented of my accepting it, and looked on it as a great infelicity.*"^f Such were Kidder's views, after he was in possession of the see. Burnet and many others would have entertained no such scruples.

Great disappointment was experienced by persons in authority, on Beveridge's refusal to succeed Ken. Stillingfleet, therefore, published a Letter on the subject, containing some severe animadversions.^g A few extracts will shew the state of feeling at the time among both parties in the Church—those who were reluctant to succeed to the vacant sees, and those who, like Stillingfleet and others, had no scruples on the subject. He is somewhat severe on Beveridge, who acted from the purest motives. In short, he shews himself too much of a partizan. In meeting the supposed case of another revolution, and the consequent dispossession of the new Bishops, he actually calls the restoration a revolution. "The experience of the Revolution in 1660 hath taught them how dangerous it may be in case such a revolution should happen, to change their old preferments for new ones, which may be challenged again by their old proprietors. But in our case there is the least to be said for

^f Bowles's Life of Ken, ii, 210—214.

^g A Vindication of their Majesties Authority to fill the Sees of the deprived Bishops: in a Letter out of the Country. Occasioned by Dr. B—'s refusal of the Bishopric of Bath and Wells. 4to. 1691.

this caution, that can possibly be in any revolution ; for it is as vain a thing to hope to secure ourselves in such a revolution by prudence and caution, as it is for a man to fortify his house against the breaking in of the sea. If there ever be such a revolution as can unsettle what this hath done, God be merciful to this miserable nation." It is strange, that Stillingfleet should use such language, as if the commonwealth could in any way be compared to the lawful government which existed previous to 1688. "Whatever," he proceeds, "may be pretended, the world will not believe that Doctor B— refused a Bishopric, but either out of fear or conscience : the first calls in question the stability or continuance of the present government : the second the authority of it. Now this confirms the enemies of the government in their opinion of the unlawfulness to submit to it, and encourages them to attempt its overthrow." Beveridge had been in a commission for administering the affairs of the Archbishopric, after the Archbishop's deprivation : and the charge of inconsistency is accordingly adduced. "He submitted to the government and took the Oath of Allegiance as early as any man : and never had the least scruple : and yet this was the time to have been scrupulous, if he would have been so : for it seems a little of the latest, when he is become a sworn subject to King William and Queen Mary, to question their authority to make a Bishop. And if the former Bishops were deprived, and new Bishops made, by such an authority as he can swear allegiance to, I cannot understand that it can be unlawful to accept a bishopric from the hands of those whom he owns. Besides this Dr. B— was one of those who, by commission from the Dean and Chapter, hath exercised archiepiscopal authority during the

vacancy of the see by the deprivation of the A. B." It is assumed that Beveridge deemed it unlawful to accept Bath and Wells, which was not the case. However Stillingfleet urges the point: "If it be unlawful to succeed a deprived Bishop, then he is the Bishop of the Diocese still: and then the law that deprives him is no law, and consequently the King and Parliament that made that law, no King nor Parliament: and how can this be reconciled with the Oath of Allegiance, unless the Dr. can swear allegiance to him who is no King, and hath no authority to govern." He argues that on such a supposition the Church of England was schismatical, and Beveridge himself a schismatic. The tone of the Letter proves that Beveridge's refusal was a keen disappointment to the government. Stillingfleet, as one of the ablest controversialists of the period, was employed to counteract the evils, which were apprehended from the refusal of such a man as Beveridge.

Beveridge was not the only clergyman, who refused to succeed to a see vacant by deprivation. Sharp, who had acted a conspicuous part previous to the Revolution, and who afterwards became Archbishop of York, entertained the same scruples. He was mentioned by the King as a proper person to succeed to one of the vacancies. Norwich was pressed upon him; but he refused to accept of any; not from scruples of conscience respecting the Oath, but from affection to the deprived Bishops.^b

Some time after the deprivation of the Bishops,

^b Sharp's Life, i. 108—110. Birch's Tillotson, 276, 277. Scott, the author of the Christian Life, refused the bishopric of Chester with other posts because they were vacant by deprivation. Hickes's Discourses on some Late Sermons. Preface—"A curious re-

a most impudent forgery was perpetrated by two persons, Blackhead and Young, in order to implicate Archbishop Sancroft, Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, and others, in a correspondence with some persons in France. A document was dropped, by one of the parties, in the palace at Bromley : and when the information was laid against the Bishop of Rochester, this Paper was discovered in the spot where it had been placed by one of the conspirators, who had applied to his Lordship with a forged letter, pretended to have been written by a clergyman. To the Paper were appended the names of the Archbishop, the Bishop, and others : and the imitations were so good that it was difficult to distinguish between them and the genuine autographs of the individuals. In this document, the French were invited to invade the country : and it is evident, that it was the intention of the framers to implicate the nonjuring Bishops. However, the whole was soon unravelled by the examination and confession of one of the criminals. The Bishop of Rochester published a full account of the whole matter.ⁱ

The Bishops and Clergy being deprived, the question necessarily arose, what was to be done ? Were they to continue in communion with the Church of England as private persons : or were they to exercise their office, as they might be able, and separate altogether from the Church ? They were by no means agreed on these very important points. “As the swearers so also the non-swearers were divided among

port was circulated in 1687 respecting Stillingfleet. In a Letter from Leyden that year : “There is a jealousy of Dr. Stillingfleet turning Papist.” Marchmont Papers, iii. 72.

ⁱ Bishop of Rochester's Account.

themselves in their opinions. Of them who dissented from the public on the political point, there were some who were not for puzzling themselves with the religious point." It is further said "there were no inconsiderable numbers, which were against making any separation at all in the Church, upon that account. These went to the public assemblies, but at the same time declared, that to communicate in some of the Prayers, they thought contrary to truth and justice. And when others taxed them for this, they answered, that they neither did, nor ought to be supposed to join in those Prayers."^k Some expressed their disapprobation publicly in the Churches, at the Prayers for the new Sovereigns. Others thought such a practice unlawful; but even Tillotson concurred with the Nonjurors in thinking that they could not join in the Prayers.^l It was urged against them, that they could not join in the Prayer of St. Chrysostom in giving thanks to God, that "with one accord" they had made "their common supplications to him." Others attended the Parish Churches on the ground of necessity, urging that they must otherwise be cut off from public worship: while some remained at the public assemblies, because the Clergy, under whose superintendence they had been placed, continued in their posts. On these several grounds many persons, especially among the laity, continued to worship in the parish churches, though they did not approve of the changes that had been made. The same feelings continued to influence considerable numbers during this and the succeeding reign.^m

^k Kettlewell's Life, 138.^l Ibid.^m Kettlewell, 139, 140.

But the more strenuous Nonjurors were opposed to any such compromise. They argued for a separation from the Church established. It has been said, that Sancroft was at first against a separation, and that his reluctance to encourage it continued for some time. This feeling, however, if it ever existed, appears to have been relinquished after his retirement to Fresingfield : for he was accustomed to speak of the Nonjurors as the true Church of England, and of the National Establishment as an apostate and rebellious Church." Thus in February 1691-2, Sancroft delegated the exercise of his archiepiscopal powers, by a formal instrument, to Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich :—a step which shews that he did not labour to prevent the schism, though perhaps he came reluctantly into the scheme. The following is an extract from this document.

" William, by Divine Providence, an humble minister of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury, to the Right Reverend Father in Christ, and most dearly beloved brother in our Lord, William, by the same providence, still Bishop of Norwich, Greeting : Health and brotherly love in the Lord. Whereas, I very lately by a lay force being driven out of the house of Lambeth, and not able to find in the neighbouring city any place where I could safely or conveniently abide, have therefore retired afar off, seeking where in my old age I could rest my weary head : and whereas there were even then remaining many affairs, and there do also daily arise many more, and those too of the greatest moment, as being the affairs of God and the Church, the which can no where so commodiously and expeditiously be transacted as in

that grand theatre of business: to you my well-beloved brother, who, out of that fortitude of mind, wherewith you excell, and that pious zeal for the house of God wherewith you are fired, do yet continue, and remain fixed in the suburbs of London, while the rest of us are every where wandering about: (so that I have not any one there who is so much one soul with me, or who hath such a natural concern as yourself for the Churches affairs and mine): yea to you, I say, do I commit in the Lord, as confiding in you, and in your wonted dexterity for business, all whatever belongeth to my place, and to the pontifical (or archiepiscopal) office, for the treating, consulting, and finally dispatching all those matters which thereunto do appertain: and by virtue of these presents, I do choose, make, and constitute you my Vicar for all that which is aforesaid, my agent of all things, and matters to me relating, Factor and Proxy-General, or Nuncio."

Afterwards he adds, "Whomsoever you, my brother, as occasion may require, shall think fit to assume and adjoin to yourself, whomsoever you shall elect and approve, confirm and constitute, I also as much as in me, and as I rightfully can, do in like manner assume and adjoin, elect and approve, confirm and constitute. In a word, whatsoever you shall of yourself do, or order to be done, in affairs of this kind, all that how great soever, or of what sort soever it be, boldly impute it to me: Lo I, William, have written it with mine own hand, and will stand by it." °

° Kettlewell, 136, 137. A Collection of Letters concerning the separation of the Church of England into two communions. 1746. p. 49—53. The close of this document, dated February the 9th 1691, is really touching: "Dated from my poor cottage (which

The instrument was dated from his own poor hired house within the district of the said (deprived) Bishop of Norwich. It was signed before a Notary Public the 9th of February, 1691-2, seven months after his removal from Lambeth. Still their affairs were by no means in a settled state. "So far was the provision from settling the affairs of their little communion, that there were new difficulties which successively started up hereupon, not easily to be stated and resolved, or at least without extreme danger; and though a separate communion was hereby kept up as a *witnessing Church*, according to the late Bishop of Worcester's hypothesis, who magnified the Providence of God in this case, though he himself held to the opposite side; yet was not this so compacted as, from the principles upon which they proceeded, might reasonably enough have been expected."^p

Some time after the delegation of Sancroft's powers to Lloyd, another step was taken for perpetuating the schism. As long as they abstained from consecrating Bishops and ordaining Priests, the deprived Prelates could scarcely be regarded as setting up a separate communion. Measures, however, were soon taken for continuing the succession of Bishops. King James was applied to, who ordered a list of the Nonjuring Clergy to be sent to him in France. Accordingly Hickes went over to the Continent with a list of those, who were known to have declined to take the Oath. The list was not perfect, since many,

is not yet made a sufficient covering for me in this sharp winter) here in *Friesingfeld*, at this time indeed very hard frozen, situate within the bounds of your diocese."

^p Kettlewell, 137, 138.

who refused the Oath, did not wish to have their names mentioned. Lists were made by private persons ; but, lest they should fall into the hands of the government, they were preserved with great care and secrecy. Hickes procured as perfect a catalogue of names as possible ; and from the number the King appointed two, one to be nominated by the Archbishop, the other by the Bishop of Norwich. The former nominated Hickes, the latter, Wagstaffe. Hickes and Wagstaffe were accordingly consecrated, the former by the title of Suffragan of Thetford, the latter as Suffragan of Ipswich. The Archbishop dying before the consecration, the solemnity was performed by Lloyd and the deprived Bishops of Peterborough and Ely on the 24th of February 1693. The consecration took place in the lodging of the Bishop of Peterborough, in Mr. Gillard's house. Henry Earl of Clarendon was present at the ceremony.^a

An account of this matter was drawn up and left in MS. by Hickes ; and it is thus alluded to by Lindsay, a Nonjuror of eminence in the last century. "I have seen an account of this affair in MS. drawn up (I suppose) by Dr. Hickes himself ; out of which I shall oblige my reader with the following particulars : viz. that after the deprivation of the Archbishop and his brethren, they immediately began to think of continuing their succession by new consecrations, and often discoursed of it, without taking any particular resolutions, till after the consecration of the intruders (as they called them) into their sees,

^a D'Oyley's Life, ii. 33, 34. Tillotson's Life, 269. Kettlewell, 134. Biog. Brit. Art. Hickes. Supp. Nichols' Lit. Anecdotes, i. 35, 36.

that then the deprived Archbishop and Bishops resolved to continue the same, and to write to the late King James about it: that in their discourses on this matter, the deprived Bishop of Ely acquainted the Archbishop and his brethren with the letters in St. John's College Library in Cambridge, which had passed upon the like occasion between Chancellor Hyde and Dr. Barwick; that thereupon they had recourse to those letters, and resolved to impart the secret to the then Earl of Clarendon, who had been his father's secretary in that correspondence; that from those letters, and the additional light which they received from that noble Lord, it appeared that, in that case, in regard of the difficulties of making elections, it was resolved to consecrate the new Bishops with Suffragan titles, according to the statute of King Henry VIII. That therefore the deprived Archbishop and Bishops resolved upon the same method in this case also, and to write to the late King James for his consent to it in the way directed by that statute; though (it seems) they judged it a matter of so great importance as to resolve to do it even without his consent rather than not at all: that upon their application, the late King James returned his answer, that he would readily concur with it, and required them to send some person over to him, with whom he might further confer about the matter, and along with him a list of the deprived Clergy: that Dr. George Hickes being made choice of for that purpose, set forward from London May 19th, 1693, and, after many difficulties, arrived at St. Germain's in about six weeks time: that there the late King James acquainted him that, for the further satisfaction of his own conscience, he had consulted the Archbishop of Paris, and the Bishop of Meaux, and the

Pope himself, who severally determined that the Church of England being established by the laws of the kingdom, he (though a Papist) was under no obligation of conscience to act against it, but obliged to maintain and defend it, as long as those laws are in force : that the late King James put their said determinations into the Doctor's hands : which he read and found to be to the effect aforesaid ; that the said late King James also assured him, that he had on all occasions justified the Church of England since the Revolution. That the Doctor returned to London 4th of February, 1693, and was consecrated on the 24th.”^r Such is Lindsay's account of this remarkable circumstance.

The Archbishop died before these consecrations took place. On his retirement to Fresingfield he permitted Nonjurors only to perform divine service in his presence : and of course he did not attend the Parish Church.^s He died the 24th of November, 1693.^t When he perceived his end approaching, he expressed his satisfaction at the course which he had adopted, adding, that he should pursue the same were he called again to make his decision. On the 27th of November his body was deposited in the churchyard of Fresingfield, in a spot which had been selected by himself.

In his last moments, he prayed for King James, being unable to renounce his allegiance. “I pray God Almighty for the poor and suffering Church, which is almost destroyed by this new Revolution,

^r Mason's Defence by Lindsay. Preface, lxxxiii. iv. 1728. See also Macpherson's Original Papers, i. 452—455.

^s Letter out of Suffolk. Birch's Tillotson, 155—160. Kettlewell, 159.

^t D'Oyley's Life, ii. 65.

and I beseech God to bless the King, Queen, and Prince, and in his due time to restore them to their just and undoubted rights.”^u “His virtue,” says Nelson, “was uniform: for when he was in his greatest elevation he declined the commands of his lawful and rightful Prince, rather than obey him, to the prejudice of the true religion and the established laws: yet he would not resist his Sovereign to save both, because he apprehended the laws of the land, as well as the precepts of the Gospel expressly forbid it: and chose rather the expulsion from all his honours and ecclesiastical revenues, than violate his conscience or stain the purity of those principles, which he had always maintained and defended.”^w

Though he had since his retirement communicated only with Nonjurors, who did not frequent the Parish Church, yet he was resorted to by many who had taken the Oath. Some, who visited him, asked his blessing, which was always bestowed without any hesitation. He remarked, sometimes, in allusion to those who complied, that “notwithstanding he and they might go different ways, with respect to the public affairs, he trusted yet that heaven-gates would be wide enough to receive both him and them.”^x Though he did not attend the Parish Church, yet the Clergyman of the Parish frequently visited the Archbishop. His opinions respecting the Parochial Assemblies, in consequence of the prayers for the new Sovereigns, were very strong. Thus it is said, that on one occasion, when his sentiments were asked, he replied, “That there ought to be an absolution at

^u Macpherson's Papers i, 278.

^w Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, 356.

^x Kettlewell, 159.

the end as well as at the beginning of the Prayers to absolve them from the guilt they had contracted in joining, or seeming to join in immoral and unrighteous petitions.”¹ Of Archbishop Sancroft’s sincerity, integrity, and piety, no one can doubt, however we may question the prudence of some of his last acts, especially his consent to the steps, which were taken for the continuance of the succession. Though the consecration of Hickes and Wagstaffe did not take place till after his death, yet we must view the act as having received his sanction, because he had delegated his powers to Lloyd. With his views of the Oath to the new Sovereigns, and of the deprivation of himself and his brethren, we cannot perhaps be greatly surprised at his consenting to a continuance of the succession. Still it would have been more consistent, had he followed in the steps of Ken, who took no part in the proceedings connected with the new consecrations, being content to suffer the penalties of non-compliance without any attempt to perpetuate a schism.²

We have seen, that Sancroft prayed for King James and the Prince of Wales. The Nonjurors could not join in prayers for the new Sovereigns. Kettle-

¹ Kettlewell, 159.

² It was said after the Archbishop’s death, that he had communicated with his Chaplains after their compliance. This however, was not the fact, as is clear from *The Letter out of Suffolk*, Earberry’s *Admonition to Kennet and Marshall*, and Bedford’s *Vindication of Sancroft*. The Charge was also refuted in 1746 by the publication of the Testimony of Thomas Martyn. Martyn states that he, with other gentlemen, repaired to the Archbishop September 19, 1690: that they told his Grace of their dissatisfaction at the alterations in the prayers. He asked each if he wanted satisfaction, and on all declaring that they did, the Archbishop said that they “ought not to go to the publick, but get what opportunity

well had very strong feelings on this point; and Sancroft and the Bishops entertained the same. Of Kettlewell it is said, he “could not by any motives be persuaded to cease praying for those persons, whom at the commencement of the Revolution he had prayed for; and whom he firmly believed to have the same right to his prayers now as then.”^a All the Nonjurors recognized James as their lawful Sovereign: and consequently they prayed for him in their assemblies. They did not however mention his name; but prayed for the King, the Queen, and the Prince. At all events, this was the general practice, though probably some might even introduce the King’s name.

Though my sympathies are with the deprived Bishops on many points, yet I cannot refrain from expressing my opinion in this place, that they were not justified in attempting to perpetuate the schism by continuing the succession. They might have remained quiescent, having delivered their own consciences by not taking the Oath. Every one must revere them for their scruples, and for their adherence to principles, which enabled them to endure suffering and privation; but I cannot think, that they were

they could otherwise.” Mr. Snat promised to find out some means of affording them the privilege of Divine worship, the Archbishop expressing his approval. It seems, that Snat began thus early to officiate privately to some of those, who scrupled to attend the Parish Churches. Previous to the Archbishop’s removal from Lambeth, Martyn again resumed the question respecting the public prayers, on which occasion it was that his Grace replied, that *they would need the Absolution at the end as well as at the beginning.* See “A Collection of Letters concerning the Separation of the Church of England into two Communions,” pp. 45—48.

^a Kettlewell, 117.

called upon, even by their own views, to take so strong a step as that of new consecrations. They could not proceed regularly. Of this they were conscious, and therefore they resorted to the expedient of Suffragan Bishops. Besides, it is clear, that Sancroft could not delegate his powers to be exercised after his own death. Whatever may have been the effect of the Instrument, by which Lloyd was empowered to act, it certainly ceased with the life of the Archbishop. This subject, however, will necessarily come under consideration in the details of the controversy between the Nonjurors and their opponents: and I introduce it here, merely for the purpose of pointing out, what I conceive to have been an error on the part of the deprived Bishops.^b

From the period of the new consecrations, therefore, the schism must be regarded as having been completed. “Thus not only a separation in the Church of England was actually formed, Dr. Sancroft being at the head of one communion, and Dr. Tillotson at the head of another: but a provision was made for perpetuating the former, in case the public affairs should stand in the same posture. However, for the more easy healing of this unhappy breach, and for avoiding disputes which might otherwise arise about the temporalities annexed to the

^b The leanings of the ruling powers are evident from the following circumstance, relative to the 29th of May. “Though this day was set apart expressly for celebrating the memorable birth, returne, and restoration of the late King Charles II., there was no notice taken of it, nor any part of the office annext to the Common Prayer Book, made use of, which I think was ill don, in regard his restoration not only redemed us from anarchy and confusion, but restored the Church of England, as it were miraculously.” Evelyn, vol. iii, 316. This was in 1692.

spirituality of a Bishop, it was in favour of the Church in possession, provided, first, that none should be consecrated into any see: and secondly, that they who were consecrated should forbear to act till, upon failure of the Bishops now deprived, there would, for keeping up the succession, be a necessity for them to execute the powers committed to them, and to afford those who should adhere unto them orthodox and holy ministrations, as Mr. Kettlewell expresses it.”^c This writer states, that he shall not meddle with their reasons for so acting.

Their statement of their case was couched in the following terms:

“ 1st. That in the year of our Lord 1688, the ecclesiastical authority of the Church of England was with the most reverend Father in God, Dr. William Sancroft: as Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and with the right reverend the Bishops (now deprived) in their dioceses, and that the acknowledged altars were with them, is agreed on both sides.

2. That since that time, several Bishops and Priests subordinate to him and them, and to whom they were bound by oaths of canonical obedience, having rejected that authority, withdrew their obedience, and set up and owned another Primate and other Bishops against those acknowledged Bishops, is matter of fact.

3. Whence a separation being made by them, and there being two parties divided, with the old metropolitan at the head of one, and the late Dean Dr. Tillotson at the head of the other: the question is with which of these the faithful are obliged to hold communion. Now if the Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops deserted any doctrines of the Church, or

^c Kettlewell, 134.

otherwise made themselves irregular and so deserved deprivation : or if the civil power hath authority to deprive Bishops without a Synod : and if a legal civil power hath deprived these : Then they have no longer any ecclesiastical authority over the faithful. But if on the other hand, they are deprived for maintaining the Doctrine of the Church and for adhering to their duty : if the civil power cannot but in a Synodical way deprive Bishops, or if the power which pretendeth to do it is not legal : Then the sentence of deprivation is not only unjust, but null in itself, and the authority of the Bishops is in full force as before, and the obligation to adhere to their communion as strict as ever.”^d

This is the way in which the case was stated by the early Nonjurors. It will be seen that it is expressed with great moderation : with much greater indeed than was adopted at a later period, when the controversy became warm. It does not pronounce the Bishops and Priests, who complied, heretics. Though, therefore, I consider that the Nonjurors were in error in continuing the Schism, by providing for the succession, yet I must allow, that there was a strong colour for their proceedings, and that the great fault was with King William’s government, in proceeding to deprive the Bishops and Clergy, who were so conscientious as to scruple the Oath. The mischief would have been avoided, if the Bishops and Clergy had been permitted to remain in possession of their preferments. It would have been wise in the rulers to have acted, as in an ordinary case of the accession of a new Sovereign. Ecclesiastical persons are not required in such a case to take the Oath

^d Kettlewell, 135.

afresh, unless on a new appointment. Had King William's government acted on this principle, no schism would have taken place in the Anglican Church : and surely such an indulgence was due to a body of conscientious men. The difficulties, with which they had to cope respecting the Oaths, were of no ordinary character. No person, who understands the question, will load their memory with reproach on that head. No doubt the Bishops and Clergy, who complied, were conscientious men, and acted on principle : but it would be uncharitable to condemn those who refused. The difficulties were of such a character, as to make us very cautious in pronouncing an opinion against such a body as the Bishops and Clergy, who submitted to deprivation rather than go against their conscience. These remarks apply especially to the first race of Nonjurors, who were not responsible for the proceedings of those who succeeded them, and whose case will be considered in the course of our narrative.

The perpetuation of the schism by the new consecrations, however, was not approved of by all the Nonjurors : so that even at this early period the house was divided against itself. The deprived Bishops had no sphere in which to exercise their functions. A lay power, even an unlawful power, may deprive a Bishop of his jurisdiction. I mean that when a Bishop is forcibly removed from his sphere, by the civil power, he cannot continue to exercise his authority. We need not discuss the question respecting the legality of the government of King William. All persons are satisfied with our present constitution : and though there were many acts, of which we may disapprove, yet no one will call the legality of the government of that

day in question. But it is quite sufficient for my purpose to assume, that when a Bishop is removed, even forcibly and illegally, it becomes a question how far he can act ; or whether he must not submit to the trial until the Providence of God sees fit to make his way clear. Bishops from another Church are true Bishops in England ; but they cannot exercise their functions in this country without permission. And this, I conceive, was precisely the position of the deprived Bishops. This view, moreover, was adopted by many Nonjurors, as will be seen in another chapter. The principle on which they acted, in continuing the succession, does not admit of the same justification as their refusal to take the Oaths.

I have already alluded to the number of the Clergy who submitted to deprivation. Remarks were made at the time on the comparative smallness of the number ; but I confess that my surprise is, that there were so many. When we remember how easy it is to go with the stream : when we recollect, that many complied with the existing authorities without inquiry, and that many more entertained scruples, though they did not separate from the Church, we cannot but be surprised that so large a number as *four hundred* should have refused the Oath. Thankful too should we be, that the consequences of the schism were not more disastrous : especially as we know, that if the government had forborne to press the Oath, all would have continued in their posts as quiet and peaceable subjects of the new Sovereigns, though they could not recognize their authority by an Oath.

The Bishops and other dignitaries, who refused to comply, were very cautious in giving their opinion respecting the Oath before the period fixed by the

Act for their deprivation: and therefore many who took it, did so, because they conceived, that their ecclesiastical superiors, by their silence, sanctioned them in such a course. "Hence it came to pass, that some who took the Oath were willing to lay the occasion thereof upon the very Bishops whom they departed from in so doing."^c The Bishops did not influence the Clergy: they did not express their opinions publicly on the proceedings of the government: and consequently some, who complied, were disposed to attribute their compliance to the Bishops themselves. But on the other hand it may be remarked, that the views of the Bishops were generally known. They had several meetings at Lambeth: and some of the Clergy did actually apply to them for their advice and assistance, which were never refused.

Alluding to the argument derived from the comparatively small number of the Nonjurors, Leslie somewhat coarsely remarks: "This is the common topic, and runs through them all, and yet there is not one of them but knows full well that this means nothing at all, that truth was never tried by rolling and telling of noses: that numbers were never any evidence of a good cause. At this rate the *Alcoran* will vie with the *Gospel*, and *Turcism* will be not only better than *Popery*, but even than Christianity itself. This therefore is nothing else but cheating and deluding the people, instead of informing and instructing them. And they are hard put to it sure, when to save their own credit, and to blast others, they are forced so frequently to inculcate such an argument, which they themselves in their own con-

^c Kettlewell, 108.

sciences (if they have any) know to be none at all.”^d

At all events, no one can deny, that their sincerity was put to a very severe test. By complying, the Archbishop, Bishops and Clergy might have retained their posts : the Bishops would have ended their days in affluence and surrounded with worldly honours : and the Clergy would have lived in comfort and in most cases in plenty. But by adopting the opposite course, they spent the remainder of their days in poverty and seclusion. There was no worldly inducement to such a course. It is not in human nature to choose poverty for its own sake. Some strong principle must have influenced them in their decision, and supported them in their subsequent course. In short they were moved by their own consciences : and it is not uncharitable to assert, that few of the complying Bishops were actuated by so strong a principle as the despised Nonjurors. Nor were they encouraged by King James. On the contrary they met with great discouragement.

James's infatuation with respect to Popery was so great, that he usually endeavoured to induce those Nonjuring divines, who visited him in France, to join the Church of Rome. These attempts were known and could not fail to cause any, who might be wavering in their opinions, to adhere to the new government, despairing of the safety of the Church of England under King James. Thus, when the Protestant members of his court at St. Germain's requested permission for a chapel, in which the service of the

^d Remarks on some late Sermons : and in particular on Dr. Sherlock's Sermon at the Temple, Dec. 30th, 1694. In a Letter to a Friend, p. 11.

Church of England might be conducted, the King again consulted the Jesuits, and refused the request. Dr. Granville, who had quitted the Deanery of Durham, was even obliged to leave St. Germain's, in consequence of the insults to which he was subjected.^e None of his Protestant followers were trusted. Colonel Cannan refusing to join the Church of Rome was reduced to a very small allowance. Being sick, he received the Sacrament of Dr. Granville, but some priests actually thrust a wafer down his throat after he became insensible, and published that he died a member of the Church of Rome.^f It seems that the priests, and no doubt the King approved, endeavoured to bring over every Protestant to their own Church.^g

The new government, as it appears to me, acted in some cases with unnecessary severity against those, who were suspected of favouring King James. Generally the Nonjurors remained quiet, though of course their affections were with the exiled monarch. There were, however, exceptions; but the evidence in some cases would not in our day be sufficient for conviction of a crime, to which the forfeiture of life is attached. Mr. Ashton's case was alluded to in the previous chapter: and it appears to me that Mr. Anderton, who was arraigned in June 1693, was convicted on evidence, which, in the present day, would not be deemed sufficient. He was indicted for printing two Pamphlets, entitled "Remarks upon the Present Confederacy and Late Revolution in England," and "A French Conquest neither desirable

^e Life of King James, 8vo. 1705. pp. 390, 391. Macky's Memoirs, xxix.

^f Macky, xxxvi.

^g Ibid. xliii.

nor practicable." Grascome wrote an account of the trial under the title, "An Appeal of Murder," which, as well as that from the Sessions Paper, is printed in the *State Trials*. Anderton avowed himself a member of the Church of England; still he declined the services of the Ordinary, who appears to have conducted himself with much impropriety towards the prisoner. A Nonjuring Clergyman, probably Grascome, attended him in his last moments, using portions of the Office for the *Visitation of the Sick*, with such alterations as were suited to the circumstances of the sufferer.^h

The narrative of facts has now been continued to the year 1694: but other matters of no small importance occurred during this period relative to the controversies, in which the various parties were engaged. These will be discussed in the ensuing chapter.

^h State Trials, viii. 71, 72.





CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1690—1694.

CONTROVERSIES.—COLLIER.—CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THE OATH.—SHERLOCK.—SOME COMPLIERS RETRACT.—CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THE DEPRIVATIONS.—STILLINGFLEET.—GRASCOME.—WILLIAMS.—SHARPE,—HICKES.—HILL'S SOLOMON AND ABIATHAR.—ANSWERED BY GRASCOME.—THE EARLIER WRITINGS OF SOME OF THE COMPLIERS CONTRASTED WITH THEIR PRODUCTIONS SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVOLUTION.—BISBY'S UNITY OF PRIESTHOOD.—HODY AND THE BAROCCIAN MS.—DODWELL.—HE ENGAGES IN THE CONTROVERSY WITH HODY.—KETTLEWELL'S VIEWS OF THE SEPARATION.—STILLINGFLEET ON THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.



IN the previous chapter the principal facts connected with the separation have been detailed ; but there are other matters referring to the same period, which require a distinct notice. I allude to the various controversies which sprang out of the separation : some of which were carried on among the Nonjurors themselves, while others arose between the latter and the supporters of the National Church. In the present chapter I shall confine myself to the disputes of the latter description.

Discussions arose almost as soon as it was foreseen, that the debates in the convention were likely to issue in the settlement of the crown on William and Mary. Collier was one of the first to enter the controversial

arena, and to support publicly the claims of King James. This he did in a small tract under the title of "*The Desertion Discussed*:" the first direct attack upon the principles of the Revolution.^a It appears to have been written just after the Commons had declared the throne vacant: and doubtless was intended to influence the decision of the Upper House. In addressing his correspondent he asks, "how (say you) can the seat of the government be empty, while the King, whom all grant an unquestionable title, is still living, and his absence forced and involuntary." Collier assumes, that the flight of James was forced, though it is clear that he might have remained; and had he remained, he would have preserved his crown. In alluding to the plea of necessity, he says, "This pretended necessity is either of their own making, or of their own submitting to, which is the same thing." He labours to show that the King was in danger before he quitted the country, and that consequently his removal was not an abdication: and that the throne could not be considered vacant. The author was afterwards imprisoned on account of this publication, but he was discharged without being brought to trial. Collier arraigns the legality of the convention from its not having been summoned by the King's writ, in the usual and constitutional manner. He contended, that as they had neither the authority of law, nor the plea of necessity to urge, they must expect that their proceedings would be subjected to examination. Alluding to Burnet's pamphlet, he remarks, that the Commons appear to have a great

^a The Desertion Discussed, in a Letter to a Country Gentleman. In State Tracts, vol. i. It was a reply to a pamphlet of Burnet's, entitled "An Inquiry into the Present State of Affairs," in which King James is considered as a deserter of the crown.

regard to his judgment, inasmuch as their chief votes are transcribed from one of his paragraphs. "We are now, says he, fallen upon times in which the most extravagant and almost impossible things are swallowed without chewing, and the plainest truths outfaced."

This Tract was answered by Bohun, the author of "*A History of the Desertion*," containing an account of all the proceedings connected with the Revolution. This gentleman, in his reply to Collier, enters upon a review of the King's Acts, which led to the attempt of the Prince of Orange. He shews, that Whigs and Tories acted in unison in receiving the Prince: that, on the King's departure, it was necessary to do something: and that a convention of the Three Estates was the most unexceptionable expedient in their difficulty. He adds, that his Majesty would have been in no danger by remaining in the country: and that, so far from being forced away, he was persuaded to go by his counsellors, rather than remain and redress the grievances of the nation. He contends, that had he summoned a Parliament, he need not have withdrawn; and that, by quitting the country, he had voluntarily abdicated the throne. He thinks, that the judgment of the three estates was conclusive, though the public might not be acquainted with all the reasons, by which they were influenced in the settlement of the crown. This last argument probably was conclusive with many persons, and in general it must be regarded as sufficient to satisfy the majority of a nation, in any change of government.^b

^b Collier was again imprisoned in 1692, on a charge of having maintained a correspondence with King James. The charge was

We need not, however, enter at length upon this point, since the arguments on both sides are generally known. But there are other questions, which though now nearly forgotten, are of considerable interest, and such as cannot be passed over in a history of the Nonjurors. It has been remarked, that a history of the controversies of any particular time is a history of the period : and the remark applies with full force to the Nonjurors.

Many pamphlets and tracts were published on the subject of the Oath to the new Sovereigns : and some very remarkable changes in practice occurred within a few years after the Revolution. Some persons complied after a resistance or a refusal of several months ; while others, who had taken the Oath, recanted, and were received into communion with the Nonjurors. Among the former the most conspicuous, perhaps, was Sherlock, who had actually been deprived for his refusal. I have given some account of Sherlock's sudden change in a former work, to which I would refer the reader.^c In that work, I have expressed my opinion, that he was seeking for a

not proved. Bail was allowed, but this he refused to find ; because, by doing so, he considered, that he should recognize the authority of the court, which he denied. At length he was released at the intercession of friends. Chalmers's Biog. Dict.

^c A History of the Convocation of the Church of England. A bookseller seeing him handing his wife along St. Paul's Church-yard, said, " There goes Dr. Sherlock, with his reasons for taking the Oath at his fingers' ends." It has been said, " The party he had deserted were not convinced by his pamphlet. Bishop Over-all's Acts and Canons had not converted them, or their *wives* had not taken the same pains, or had not been so skilful in their persuasions." He was succeeded by his son in the mastership of the Temple, who subsequently became Bishop of London. He too had some scruples like his father. He preached a sermon the Sunday after the battle of Preston, strongly in favour of George I.,

pretence to enable him to submit: and I have not seen any reason to alter that opinion. Probably he imagined at first that King James might be able to return: but when he saw William firmly seated on the throne, after his success in Ireland, he began to consider by what means he could retrace his steps. Overall's Convocation Book was the pretence; for having assigned many reasons for refusing the Oath, he was anxious to have some plea for his change of opinion. Posterity certainly will not consider his arguments of much force. Some of the pamphlets and sarcastic attacks upon the Doctor are mentioned in my former work.^d Sherlock published his "*Case of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, &c.*" in order to vindicate himself in taking the Oath. "It was no small alarm to those whom he had left, that a person of his figure, who had so strenuously maintained the doctrine of nonresistance, in one of his most celebrated pieces, and thereby opposed the principles of the Revolution, and of the establishment thereupon: and who had also held out so long in this opposition, for the sake of his old opinion, by re-

which, the Benchers remarked, should have been delivered the Sunday before. The following lines were written on him:

As Sherlock the elder, with his *jure* divine,
Did not comply till the battle of Boyne;
So Sherlock the younger still made it a question,
Which side he would take till the battle of Preston.

Noble, i. 91.

^d The following extracts are from a pamphlet of the period. "A Catalogue of Books of the Newest Fashion, to be sold by auction at the Whigg's Coffee House, &c. near the Deanery of St. Pauls." "Si Fortuna Velit fies, De, &c. Gravel Lane to-day. D—n of P—s to-morrow, and Gravel Lane again, as moody Fortune or Spouse pleases. By Smock-Peckt Sh——k. — "Dux

fusing the qualification which was enjoined all the Clergy, for the security of the government upon that footing; should now go over to the other side, by the help of Bishop Overall's Demonstration, which had lain dormant till then; and turn an advocate for that very cause which he had so long withstood; and for that government which he had shewn himself hitherto so little a friend to, and whose very foundations had been undermined by him in his former works." ^e Kettlewell replied to Sherlock, in *The Duty of Allegiance Settled upon its True Grounds.* ^f Sherlock's aim was to shew that allegiance might be given to William and Mary, as the possessors of the throne, even though they had no *legal right*, or right by inheritance, a doctrine which he had denied in his previous writings.

Sherlock had been one of the most strenuous advocates of the very doctrine, which the Revolution seemed to assail. He had published his "*Case of Resistance*:" and it was to be supposed that it would be compared with his "*Case of Allegiance*." The views of the two works were diametrically opposite.

Fæmini Facti; Conquest the best title to body and conscience, by Dr. Sh—k's wife, dedicated to her humble servant her husband; wherein these two points are proved at large: first, that no man is a good husband who will not sacrifice his conscience to the importunity of a wife: and secondly, that the Doctor was visibly under her power, and therefore he was forced to submit, and might do so according to his hypothesis of force, which dissolves all obligation, especially since the female usurpation had been for a long time and thoroughly settled." A list of "Cases of Conscience and Queries" follows, from which I take the following: "Whether Julian or Sherlock deserve the whetstone, since Julian has been always true to a false principle, and Sherlock traitor and false to a true one."

^e Kettlewell's Life, 122.

^f Kettlewell's Works, vol. ii. 197, &c.

Still Sherlock was not the only inconsistent man of that period. Burnet and Tillotson, in the time of Charles II, held the same opinions. They opposed Popery: but they maintained that opposition to the Prince could not be justified: and that the authority was in his person, not in the law. Had Sherlock complied at the Revolution without scruple, he would have been in the same situation with Burnet, Stillingfleet, and Tillotson, all of whom had written in defence of the doctrine at which he stumbled. They complied at first; while he hesitated, but yielded afterwards. His two works, "*Obedience and Submission to the Present Government, &c.*" and the "*Case of Allegiance, &c.*" were attacked by several of the Nonjurors. One of the keenest answers was written, I believe, by Wagstaffe. It is attributed to Ken in the *Biographia Britannica*; but this is clearly a mistake; and in a copy now in my possession, which was once the property of a Nonjuror, a contemporary of Sherlock's, it is assigned to Wagstaffe.[§]

[§] An Answer to a late Pamphlet, entitled *Obedience and Submission, &c.*; with a Postscript in answer to Dr. Sherlock's *Case of Allegiance*. 4to. Previous to the appearance of Sherlock's "*Case of Allegiance*," a work was published by a Nonjuror entitled "*The Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession. Printed in the year 1691.*" Neither the name of the place nor of the printer is given. This work was noticed by Sherlock: and the circumstance produced the following reply: "*An Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers, in Defence of The Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession. In a Letter to a Friend. London. Printed in the year 1691.*" "*The Trimming Court Divine*," a severe satire upon the Doctor, was noticed in my *History of the Convocation*. There was also a clever attack under this title: "*A Review of Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance, &c. with an Answer to his Vindication, &c.*:" and from the whole proved, that neither the present Church of England nor the present Government are beholden to him. 4to. Lon-

Sherlock replied in "*A Vindication of the Case of Allegiance*;" but nothing could relieve him from the charge of fickleness and inconsistency. Sherlock had told the Bishop of Killmore, that "he would be sacrificed before he took the new Oath of Allegiance." This is stated by Hickes, who very justly remarks, "if those, who took that Oath with so much difficulty would but remember their own case, they would have more compassion for those who could not take it at all."^h There were, however, some who stepped forward in Sherlock's defence. One writer in particular asserts, that more would have complied but for the schemes of some of the leaders in the opposition to King William. He lauds the government for its leniency. "They were very zealous to have got the Act for taking the Oaths to their Majesties

don, 1691." The author states, that on passing through St. Paul's Church-yard on the 3rd of November, he saw *The Case of Allegiance*: that in three hours returning he found a new title printed, and the book announced as a second edition. He says, that he began to consider whether there were two Dr. Sherlocks. This writer shews that Overall's Convocation Book was of no authority. "In the beginning of the broil he had been the champion of the party against all comers: and now he was become as great an undertaker on the other side." Ralph, ii. 270. In a very severe pamphlet the author says, alluding to the Battle of the Boyne, "Then it was that Bishop Overall's book gave you greater freedom and liberty. Egeria appeared to you on the banks of the Boyne, and inspired you with new and freer notions, and shewed you how your former reasoning contradicted the general sense of mankind, and revealed unto you a divine and safer principle, upon which you might swear allegiance, without the imputation of apostacy or renouncing the doctrine of the Church of England, to Willielmus Nass. Aug. Scot. Hiber. a Deo Datus Augustus, and also swear it back again to King James, if ever he should recover the throne in a recuperative war." Ibid.

^h Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson: occasioned by the late Sermon of the Former on the Latter. 4to. London, 1695, p. 55.

limited to a very short time, that men, having but a little time to bethink them, might more generally have refused them, as they did in Scotland : but the six months that was allowed (much against their wills) was so well employed, that the number of the *non-swearers* was very small in comparison ; and if these very men had not made it their business to traduce all that took the Oath as *apostates*, *time-servers*, and *perjured men*, perhaps it would have been much less than it was." Alluding to those who complied, he says : " Every man that taketh the Oath raiseth a new clamour : so that it is apparent to all the world, some men fear nothing more, than that there should be no *non-swearers*." ⁱ Sherlock stated, in his Preface, that he had renounced no principle, except one in " The Case of Resistance ;" but he forgot, that that one was the hinge on which all turned. ^k

But while Sherlock, with some few individuals, separated from the Nonjurors, by taking the Oath to the new Sovereigns, there were others, who, having complied, repented of the course which they had taken, and who, therefore, separated from the Established Church. On admitting such into communion, the Nonjurors used a Form of Recantation, which was arranged by Kettlewell. This was probably used on subsequent occasions of a similar description. It is very bitter against the Church of England ; and in this respect is unlike the general tone of Kettlewell's

ⁱ A Letter to the Authors of the Answers to the Case of Allegiance. 4to. pp. 4, 5.

^k South said of Sherlock, that there was hardly a subject, except Popery, but he had written for and against it. He might have excepted his " Practical Discourse on Death," which met with universal approbation. It is remarkable that this work was written during his suspension.

writings, which are remarkable for their gentleness and moderation. The occasion was as follows. A Clergyman applied to Kettlewell respecting his scruples: and, when satisfied, he applied further to the deprived Bishop of Norwich, as the Vicar-General of Archbishop Sancroft in spirituals. This gentleman had never attended his Church on the public fast days: he had declared in the Church, that he could not observe such days; he had omitted the names of the Sovereigns in the public services, with all the new petitions in the forms for the state holidays: and when the new edition of the Book of Common Prayer was tendered to him at the Visitation, he refused to receive it, as coming from the new Archbishop. The forbearance of the Bishop of his diocese, as well as of the government, towards this gentleman was great, and proves, that lenient measures were adopted in the case of those, who, though they took the Oath, had some scruples respecting the prayers appointed by the Crown. However the gentleman in question drew up a penitential confession, which was addressed, with a supplicatory epistle, to Bishop Lloyd. The letter and confession were prepared under Kettlewell's direction, and they bear this remarkable title: "*The Confession, Retractation, Repentance, and Supplicatory Letter of N. N. Rector of N. to the Right Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Bishop of Norwich.*"

The Form itself is a very curious document. It also furnishes us with a proof, that the government were not particular, provided the Oath was taken: for this gentleman tells us, that he took it with a protestation. His judgment, he says, was swayed by some eminent Clergymen, "who were permitted to take it with this declaration of their sense of it;

Mr. Chancellor, we are come here to swear obedience to the laws, and a peaceable behaviour under this government, in which sense we understand and take this Oath." He states, that he was induced to take it in consequence of this *free allowance*; but that now he sees that he had consulted a carnal policy. "When I observed the new Thanksgiving Prayer for Deliverance imposed, the scarcely tolerable use of the Liturgy without such omissions and alterations as exposed me to the virulent censures and reproaches of all the country: when I observed the contradictory petitions to what was violently driven in the Liturgic offices for the 30th of January and the 29th of May: the uncanonical deprivation of my Metropolitan without a judicial hearing: the new fast and thanksgiving days (and one of the latter too on a fast of the Church): when the Expedition Prayer and the Island Prayer (as I rate them) were enjoined." When he considered these things, he tells us, that he was greatly troubled. At last he met with Kettlewell's *Discourse of Christian Prudence*, which led to a correspondence with the author. He confesses, therefore, that he had violated the third commandment; "*for which I accuse and judge and condemn myself. God be merciful to me a sinner.*" These words are repeated six times, at the close of so many paragraphs in the Confession, which is much too long for quotation. He states in this penitential confession, that, on the first of the new fast days, he called the clerk behind the church, to tell him that he could not offer up the new petitions. On ceasing to officiate himself, on such occasions, he procured the assistance of another clergyman. This he condemns: and condemns himself for procuring another to do what he was unwilling to do himself. In the supplicatory

letter, which accompanied the confession, he states, that for a year he had neither officiated himself, nor permitted another to act as his substitute, on what he terms "*the new discriminating days*:" and that he communicated his refusal of the Prayer Book to the Archdeacon, on the ground, that it came from John Archbishop of Canterbury: and further, that he had not used the *new petitions* or *thanksgivings* in any of his ministrations. He then prays for his "consignation to the peace and unity and communion of the Church."¹

Another case also may be mentioned, though it occurred some time after the preceding. Mr. Pinchbeck of Barton in Lincolnshire, after reading Kettlewell's books on the one side, and those of Sherlock and Burnet on the other, was led to make a public retractation. He took occasion to declare, in his Church, that he had grievously sinned by his compliance. He prayed publicly by name for King James, Queen Mary, and the Prince of Wales; and read also King James's Declaration of 1693. He was of course committed to prison, tried, and condemned to the pillory, with a fine of two hundred pounds. The violent conduct of this gentleman, however, was not approved by the Nonjurors.^m Another instance is related in the diocese of Winchester, besides others among the laity. A singular recantation from Mr. Ralph Lowndes of Middlewich, in the county of Chester, is preserved in the Appendix to the Life of Kettlewell. This gentleman declares, that he was induced to take the Oath by the soft interpretation put upon it by the magistrates. He then

¹ Kettlewell's Life, 144—49.

^m Ibid. 150, 151.

expresses his conviction, that it was sinful to take it in any sense, and contrary to his former Oath. This, however, occurred earlier, as it bears date September 1690.ⁿ The form used in Kettlewell's time, for admitting converts to their communion, is very different from that, which was adopted at a later period. Both however will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

We now turn to the question of the deprivations, which was long, and somewhat fiercely agitated by various writers. As soon as it became apparent, that the government would insist upon the Oath, the two parties began to make use of the press in defence of their respective views. The advocates of the government defended the Oath of Allegiance: while those, who could not take it, laboured to show, that it could not lawfully be imposed.

Stillingfleet was, I believe, one of the first to enter the lists of controversy. Before the deprivations took place, as early as the year 1689, he published his "Discourse concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation." During that year there had been published "A History of Passive Obedience," in which was collected a large mass of evidence to prove that the Church of England disowned and discountenanced the doctrine of resistance to the supreme powers. The quotations were given from the writings of divines of the Anglican Church since the reformation. It was intended, as far as possible, to prevent the Clergy and persons in authority from taking the Oath to William and Mary: and to shew that their allegiance could not be withdrawn from King James, to whom it had been given. It was ne-

ⁿ Kettlewell's Life, 152—53, and Appendix, xix.

cessary, therefore, that the effect likely to be produced by such a work, should be counteracted : and Stillingfleet, who had acted a conspicuous part in the recent controversy with the Church of Rome, and the Dissenters, entered upon the task. The main point, however, in his book relates to the Oath to the new Sovereigns, his aim being to prove, that no separation could be justified on that account ; but he alludes also to the “ History of Passive Obedience,” so far as that work relates to the Oaths. A few extracts from this performance, inasmuch as it was one of the most able on the side of the government, will not be unacceptable to the reader, as they exhibit the principles and arguments of the complying Bishops and Clergy.

Alluding to the scruples entertained by many persons respecting the Oaths, after quoting some passages in which it is declared, that those who cannot take them, will feel themselves bound to separate from those who comply, he remarks : “ I was not a little surprised at the reading of these passages ; and I soon apprehended the mischievous consequences of a new schism ; but I can hardly think it possible, that those who have expressed so great a sense of the mischief of it in others, should be so ready to fall into it themselves, and that upon the mere account of scruples.” He proceeds : “ some think the Oaths lawful, and therefore take them : others do not, and therefore forbear : but is taking the Oaths made a condition of communion ? Is it required of all who join in our worship at least to declare, that they think the taking of them to be lawful ? If not what colour can there be for breaking communion on account of the Oaths ? Suppose those who take the Oaths are to blame : if they act according to their con-

sciences therein, what ground can there be of separation from them for so doing, unless it be lawful to separate from all such who follow an erroneous conscience; and so there can be no end of separations, till all men's consciences judge alike."° He then comes to the question, whether there were any cause for entertaining scruples respecting the Oaths. Should there be a reason, he remarks, "it must arise either from the continuing obligation of the former oaths, or from the nature of the present oaths."p

The following passages appear to me to meet the case, as it was argued generally against the Nonjurors. He argues, that the rule and measure of oaths are not to be taken from the intention of the framers, but from the general good. "Whatever the intention was, if the keeping of an oath be really and truly inconsistent with the welfare of a people, in subverting the fundamental laws which support it; I do not see how such an oath continues to oblige." He clearly alludes here to the proceedings of King James: and then he shews, that if parents design the ruin of their children, obedience is not to be expected. "But that the public good is the true and just measure of the obligation in these Oaths doth further appear, in that the Oaths are reciprocal. Whereas, if only the good of the persons to whom Oaths of Allegiance are made, were to be our rule, then there would be no mutual oaths."q The single point, he says, is; "whether the law of our nation doth not bind us to allegiance to a King or Queen in actual possession of the throne, by consent of the three estates of the realm? and

° Discourse Concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation, 4to pp. 1, 2.

p Ibid. p. 3.

q Ibid. p. 5—8.

whether such an oath may not lawfully be taken, notwithstanding any former oath?"^r He also enters upon the question relative to a king *De facto*, and *De jure*: "A King *De facto* is one who comes in by consent of the nation, but not by virtue of an *immediate hereditary right*: but to such a one, being owned and received by the estates of the realm, the law of England, as far as I can see, requires an allegiance. Or else the whole nation was perjured in most of the reigns from the conquest till Henry VIII."^s

These extracts contain a full and explicit statement of the views of those, who regarded the Oaths as lawful, as well as of the principles, on which the Revolution was founded. These considerations satisfied most of those, who took the Oaths at that time, and they are quite sufficient for ordinary circumstances. There were still many difficulties: and though I regret the course pursued by the Nonjurors, yet I cannot condemn them in their refusal, because it is clear, that they acted according to their consciences.

A reply was very soon published to Stillingfleet's work by Grascome. Stillingfleet's positions are combated with much skill. He enters into the question of the Oaths, and the deprivations consequent upon their enforcement. The time fixed by the Act had not yet arrived, so that the Bishops and Clergy were not actually deprived; but they refused to take the Oaths. Grascome does not, as it appears to me, sufficiently distinguish between an actual deprivation from office and the taking away the jurisdiction of a

^r Discourse Concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation, 4to. p. 9.

^s Ibid. p. 30.

Bishop. He is correct in saying, that the former cannot be taken away by the civil power. He meets Stillingfleet's statements by asserting, that they were forced into the schism: "I cannot," says he, "see how a schism in the Church of England can be avoided, if these Oaths be imposed:" so that it is evident, that the Nonjurors would have remained at their posts in the Church, if the government had been content with their silent acquiescence. In all probability their uncomfortable feelings would soon have subsided, if the Oaths had not been imposed.^t

Grascome was answered by Williams, subsequently Bishop of Chichester, in "*A Vindication of a Discourse Concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation.*" Williams charges Grascome with a mistake in confounding deprivation with degradation. "All that the civil power here pretends to is to secure itself against the practices of dissatisfied persons; and to try who are such, it requires an Oath of Allegiance to be taken by all in office: and in case of refusal, by deprivation to disable such, as far as they can, from endangering the publick safety. But if the Clergy so deprived think fit to take the Oaths, they are in *statu quo*, without any new consecration or reordination."^u

Grascome answered Williams in another work, in which are some things relative to the substitution of King William's name for that of King James's in the Liturgy. Williams had argued, that the Bishops, though they could not take the Oaths, might still join in communion with the Church, and avoid a

^t A Brief Answer to a Late Discourse Concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation.

^u State Tracts, Will. III. vol. i. 618.

separation. It appears that Grascome had formerly been of the same opinion, since in the passage quoted from his previous work, he makes the schism to depend upon the Oaths. On this point there were differences among the Nonjurors themselves: Grascome thus states the matter: "If the owning and praying for this be made a part of the daily office, it is made a condition of our communion." So again, "Are we not obliged to pray for the same thing in more ample, plain, and significant terms than we are to swear it? The matter and substance of these Oaths is put into the prayers of the Church, and so far it becomes a condition of communion. What people are enjoined in the solemn worship to pray for, is made a condition of communion: and if it be sinful, will not only justify, but require a separation."^w In this work too he argues, that the deprivation, in the case of the Bishops and Clergy, was equivalent to a degradation from office. He has a very remarkable passage on this subject: "It is not long since, that a haughty member of the convention plainly told me, that it was in their power to take away our orders, and unpriest and unbishop us. By this you may see, that the saviours you adore, reckon that our being at any time in *statu quo*, lies wholly at their mercy, and that even yourselves, if you do not absolutely please your new masters and go through stitch, right or wrong, with their commands, can pretend to little benefit from your character or orders."^x Undoubtedly many of the members of the convention were, as Grascome states, *Erastians*, who looked upon the Church

^w A Reply to a Vindication of a Discourse Concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation, 4to. 1691, pp. 6, 10.

^x Ibid. p. 11.

merely as their creature, which they could create or destroy at pleasure. When, therefore, we reflect upon the character of that Parliament, we cannot but be thankful, that the Church was preserved unimpaired. Not a few in the present day, even among the Clergy, maintain the same erroneous notions respecting the relations between the civil power and the Church. They would allow the state to regulate all ecclesiastical matters: they would even permit episcopal acts to be performed by others than Bishops. Undoubtedly we need to be cautioned, in the present day, against this unsound but prevalent opinion.

Grascome admits, that the state can deprive the Bishops and Clergy for crimes. But he denies the lawfulness of the deprivations in question, alleging that therefore the Nonjurors deemed it necessary to exercise their ministry in a state of separation. He speaks out plainly in condemnation of those who complied. Thus he says: "From the foregoing discourse these consequences may be fairly drawn: first, that whosoever shall be put into the place of the deprived Bishops are not to be esteemed Bishops, nor ought either Clergy or people to regard them, but to adhere firmly to their former true Bishops. Secondly, that whosoever shall ordain such, or endeavour to place them there, make themselves criminals, and liable to ecclesiastical censure. Thirdly, that they and all their adherents are schismatics."^y

Sharpe, as has been noticed, refused to accept any one of the sees of the deprived Bishops; but Tillot-

^y A Reply to a Vindication of a Discourse Concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation, 4to. 1691, p. 24. Besides these works, on the part of the Nonjurors, in reply to Stillingfleet, there is another by Brown, the author of "The Nag's Head Fable Confuted;" but it was not published until the year 1749.

son made an arrangement with the King for him to take Lincoln or York on a vacancy. The Archbishopric soon became vacant, and Sharpe was appointed. On the 28th of June 1691, he preached a farewell sermon at St. Giles's. This sermon was examined in a Letter addressed to the Archbishop, and attributed to Hickes. The writer charges His Grace with having altered his views within the last two years, alluding to a sermon which he had preached before the Convention. He remarks, "I find you so altered, like many of your brethren, from yourself, that though Dr. Sharpe is still the same person, yet I do not find that the Dean of Norwich and the Archbishop are the same man."^z

Alluding to the complying Bishops and Clergy, the writer says, "I hope to see such Bishops and Priests become base and contemptible, that expound St. Paul as you and Dr. Sherlock have done, and advance allegiance to the government upon a principle that is destructive to it, and the true and lasting peace of the kingdom, in which our happiness does consist."^a He charges the Archbishop with having contradicted his former sermon: "Two years ago you were not of opinion, at least you were not fully persuaded, that the text (Romans xiii, 1) allowed us to pray in behalf of a king *de facto* against the king *de jure*, or in behalf of a king in possession against the legal king, as you and Dr. Sherlock still acknowledge King James to be, though he is out of possession: or else why did you, at his house in the Temple, express so much dislike and dissatis-

^z An Apology for the New Separation: in a Letter to Dr. John Sharpe, Archbishop of York; occasioned by his Farewell Sermon. 4to. 1691. P. 1.

^a Ibid. p. 4.

faction at the prayers in the office for the First General Fast? but the world is since well mended with you, and what was matter of difficulty to you then is not so now: for since that time you have better studied the great Apostle at *Canterbury* than you did at *Norwich*, and plainly discovered that he is and always was for the *uppermost*, and directs us to pay our allegiance and devotion, without enquiring into titles, to the King in the throne." He adds soon after; "My Lord, one Jacobite, could he turn to their Majesties upon his own principles, would be worth an hundred such subjects as you and Dr. Sherlock: and whenever Providence shall remove the obstacles, which lie in the way of their allegiance to them, they will have reason to value them as so many jewels of their crown."^b Of the new appointments he observes: "But, my Lord, besides that which you call a *State point*, there is also a *Church point*, of which you take no notice, though it be another known cause of their separation, and that is the putting of new Bishops into the thrones of the old ones, whose deprivations they pretend to be null and unjust." In reply to the Archbishop's charge of "being distasted at the established worship, for which they were zealous before," the writer affirms that they are still as zealous "*as far as the matter of the prayers is the same.*"^c

The question was also discussed in another work, "*Solomon and Abiathar*," attributed to Mr. Hill. This author acknowledges the difficulty of the case, and professes to give the arguments fairly on both sides, in a Dialogue between a Conformist and a

^b An Apology for the New Separation, pp. 6, 7.

^c Ibid. 10.

Recusant. The arguments are stated with much impartiality ; but the author's own views are pretty evident. The fact, too, that the work was licensed for the press by the Bishop of London's Chaplain, is decisive of the author's own opinions, though, in the preface, he expresses his doubts as to the course to be pursued.^d This production was answered by Grascome, who combats all its arguments in his usual style. One thing, however, was stated, which gave rise to a very curious passage in Grascome's reply. Hill had assigned as a reason for joining in the prayers, that King James and King William were not enemies. Grascome intimates, that King James may attempt to recover his rights : "and I am apt to think, that your little ambitious, Dutch saviour would think no man in the world so much his enemy as he that demands three kingdoms from him."^e

^d Solomon and Abiathar : or the Case of the deprived Bishops and Clergy discussed between Eucherus a Conformist and Dyscherus a Recusant. 4to. 1692. Calamy examined the work so superficially, that he considered it to be altogether in favour of the Nonjurors, whereas the aim of the author was to discountenance their claims. Calamy makes him represent the state of things under King William as worse than a deluge of Popery ; while the author had only made one of his speakers so represent it, that it might be confuted by the other. "Calamy's Abridgement, i, 510." So careless was Calamy in writing the history of that period. He could not have read the work.

^e Two Letters written to the Author of a Pamphlet entitled Solomon and Abiathar, or the Case, &c. 4to. 1692, p. 33. Grascome has a singular passage respecting the efforts to procure some indulgence to the Nonjuring Bishops. "On the 28th of January the Bishop of London and St. Asaph, and some others, presented themselves before your mighty King William, with a mournful address, in behalf of our reverend fathers, then drawing near to a civil suspension, and since more than uncivilly deprived. This was the pretence ; but it is reasonable to think, that it was a comploted thing, and that the real design was to get their authorities deputed

Like most other controversies, this was conducted with considerable bitterness on both sides. The charge of schism was retorted by both parties. But though the introduction of the names of the new Sovereigns was made a strong point in the controversy, yet I feel convinced, that the greater number of the Clergy would have continued in their various posts, if the Oaths had not been enforced.

The Nonjurors charged many of the men, who took a leading part in the controversy in favour of the government, with inconsistency : and to establish this charge passages were adduced from their former writings. In a collection of the works of the Nonjurors in my possession, which was once the property

in such sure hands, as might effectually promote perjury, and the thrusting good men out of possession of their estates and exercise of their proper authorities : for the effect of this address was so far from being any kindness to them for whom it was pretended, that others were presently hereupon deputed to exercise their respective jurisdictions during their suspension, deprivation, and till their places should be filled : so that all they got by this pretended kindness to them, was to be stripped stark naked. But the addressers having thus addressed themselves into their several jurisdictions, they then apply themselves to our reverend fathers, and, with a seeming humility and sorrowfulness, acquaint them how matters were ordered, requesting them, that since it must be so, they would not be displeased at them, if they, who were ready to do them all the service they could, did exercise those jurisdictions : to which they received an answer to this effect,—that since it was resolved that it should be done, whether they would or not, it was in a manner indifferent to them by whom it was done, though they were as willing it should be done by those who applied themselves to them as any others.” Pp. 33, 34. Grascome alleges this as an answer to those who contended, that the deprived Bishops had delegated their authority to their successors. He remarks, that it did not imply consent, but only necessity. He speaks of the compliers as men “ who have enervated her discipline, made wicked additions to her prayers, and attempted to make such alterations as would not leave her the same Church.” P. 5.

of a Nonjuror in the county of Somerset, there are many passages from Stillingfleet and others written on the margins of the volumes—passages which certainly contain doctrines at variance with those, which were advanced by them, at the period of, and subsequent to, the Revolution. Thus on the margins of a copy of Stillingfleet's "Unreasonableness of a New Separation," which came into my possession with a large number of contemporary works, on both sides, from the family of the Nonjuror alluded to, there are several quotations, in the hand of that gentleman, from other writings of Stillingfleet. A few may be selected as a sample. "I think it a part of a good Christian to be always a loyal subject." *Vindication of Answer to King's Papers*, p. 101. "No Church in the world can lay an obligation upon a man to be dishonest, i. e. to profess one thing and to do another. And no Church can oblige a man to believe what is false, or do what is unlawful: and rather than do either he must forsake the communion of that Church." *Vindication*, 106. "It is sufficient to my purpose to shew, that our Church doth not only teach them (*passive obedience and non-resistance*) as her own doctrines: but which is far more effectual, as the doctrines of Christ and his Apostles and of the primitive Church." *Vindication*, 389.

Such passages as these, and many such may be found in the writings of Stillingfleet, Sherlock and others in the time of Charles II, and James II, certainly countenanced the Nonjurors in their course: and we must admit, that the charge of inconsistency is more easily substantiated against the former, than against the latter. This point was urged with much sarcasm by Leslie. Thus he says: "Neither the clamour of the Jacobites, nor their own consciences,

nor the satisfaction of the people, nor to clear their own reputation from so foul a scandal could ever yet persuade Dr. Patrick to answer his paraphrases, Dr. Stillingfleet, his Preface to the Jesuit's Loyalty, Dr. Burnet, his Dialogues, Dr. Sherlock, his Case of Resistance, his Sermons, &c. They have indeed advanced themselves to posts of preferment by clean contrary doctrines, which they preach, and preach over and over, but the other old doctrines stand still uncanceled, and have not been delivered away by any direct act and deed. They own and preach up other doctrines, but they will neither formally renounce these, nor yet reconcile them to their new opinions and practices; and there is good reason for both, to reconcile them is impossible, and to renounce them inconvenient: for there may a time come when such doctrines may be in fashion again, even as heretofore."^f Alluding to certain attacks on Sherlock, which he designated *libels*, Leslie retorts: "These gentlemen had need talk of libels when they have taken such extraordinary pains to libel themselves. Dr. Patrick's Paraphrases are a notorious libel against him: and Dr. Stillingfleet's Preface to The Jesuit's Loyalty, is a terrible libel against him; and Dr. Sherlock's Case of Resistance, and all his books and sermons before the Oath are venomous and inveterate libels against him, and against all that he hath preached and written since. These are libels, and perpetual libels, and will remain everlasting monuments of their infamy, except they can persuade the people to burn all their books, and forget all their sermons. So that (to give these

^f Remarks on some late Sermons: and in particular on Dr. Sherlock's at the Temple. Dec. 30th, 1694. P. 13.

gentlemen their due) they have saved their adversaries all the trouble in this point, and they have something else to do than to beat so common and trite an argument to trouble the world with any more libels, when they find so many made to their hands by the gentlemen themselves.”^g

It would be almost impossible to specify, much less to notice at length, all the productions of the parties engaged in this controversy. I must content myself, therefore, with directing attention to some of the more important.

In the year 1692 was printed anonymously and privately a work of considerable size, “*The Unity of the Priesthood, &c.*” By the Nonjuror to whom I have already alluded, who lived at the time, the work is ascribed to Dr. Bisby. The writer commences by stating, that the appointment of a new Archbishop was the occasion of his undertaking: “Of the ill news you have sent me, none sits so close upon me as the news of a new Primate and new Bishops: the old ones being living, and neither canonically heard, nor judicially deprived: a project utterly dissonant to all primitive practice, to the ancient constitutions and canons of the Church: and which if not timely compromised, must necessarily beget and perhaps unavoidably propagate a lasting schism among us.”^h

An ancient MS. had been discovered in Oxford, containing a set of Canons, which it was thought

^g Remarks on some late Sermons, &c. 28.

^h Unity of Priesthood necessary to Unity of Communion in a Church. With Some Reflections on the Oxford MS. and the Preface annexed. Also a Collection of Canons, part of the said MS., faithfully transcribed into English from the Original, but concealed by Mr. Hody and his Prefacer, 4to. 1692.

favoured the case of the new Bishops. This MS. was published by Hody, under the following title: "*The unreasonableness of a separation from the new Bishops: or a treatise out of Ecclesiastical history, shewing that although a Bishop was originally deprived, neither he nor the Church ever made a separation if the successor was not an heretic. Translated out of an ancient MS. in the Public Library at Oxford, 4to, 1691.*" In this work, therefore, the aim is to shew that a separation from the Church could not lawfully be made by the deprived Bishops, unless the new Bishops were guilty of heresy. Hody, however, omitted some of the Canons: and the author of the preceding work printed the omissions. He contends that the suppressed Canons favour the old Bishops, and not the new. He charges Hody with "Shamming the world with part of the MS. for the whole." Hody had said that there was a "*Singular Providence in the discovery at that juncture*: and the author hopes that the Canons, which he publishes, "*may have as good a title to that singular Providence.*"ⁱ These Canons were written in the same hand with the previous portion of the MS., and the author of "*The Unity of Priesthood*" states, that Hody, as it was alleged, had declined to print them, on the ground that they did not appear to have been written by the same author. It certainly was disin-

ⁱ In the preface Hody says, "The Greek MS. from which this treatise is translated, is in that part of the Public Library at Oxton that is called the Baroccian. It is very likely that this is the only copy of this book now remaining in the world. And that it should be preserved till our times and yet hitherto be overlooked: and at this very juncture be taken notice of, and so opportunely brought to light, seems to be more than a fortuitous hit: it appears to have something of τὸ Θεῖον and a singular Providence in it."

genuous on the part of Hody not to publish the whole of the MS. The suppression led men to suppose, that there was a conviction in his own mind, that they rather opposed than supported his principle.^k

The Canons in question contain the rule, *one God, one Christ, one Bishop*. This point, indeed, was admitted by both parties, and the question was, who were the lawful Bishops. The author of the "Unity of the Priesthood" argues for the deprived Bishops, as being the first, and not canonically deprived. "The first Bishop (if canonically placed in the see) was ever accounted the *true* and *Catholic*, and the second the *false* and *schismatical* Bishop: and the Church was ever adjudged to go along with those, who by a lawful ordination were first set up in it: and the *schism* with those, who were afterwards superinduced and clapt upon them."^l According to this writer the *Ordainers* were the more to be censured. "Those *Bishops* I mean that first *dressed up* the *ape*, *set him in the chair*, and bad *God speed* unto him; hence, though *submission* and *penance* might reconcile the other Clergy, yet nothing less than utter *deprivation* and loss of their *sacerdotal honours* could atone for such."^m It was argued, by the supporters of the government, that the rejection of the interference of the state in this case involved also the rejection of the proceedings with the Bishops, who were deprived at the Reformation. This argument is met in the present work at considerable length. The author alludes to the Book of Common Prayer, which was duly and lawfully set forth by Parliament

^k See these Canons, in *Unity of Priesthood*, pp. 67—70.

^l *Ibid*, p. 11.

^m *Ibid*, 18.

and by convocation : so that on this ground the Romish Bishops were lawfully deprived for noncompliance. Other reasons are adduced to prove, that the cases of the Bishops, at the Reformation and at the Revolution, were not by any means parallel.ⁿ

There is, I think, evidence even in this volume in support of the view which I have frequently expressed, namely, that notwithstanding some scruples respecting the Prayers for the Sovereigns, and the Petitions on Fast and Thanksgiving days, the Clergy would have complied, if the Oath had not been imposed. Thus he says : “ I have freely delivered my thoughts concerning this subject, insomuch that if you and others will but seriously reflect and consider what hath been offered thereon from authentic and undeniable testimonies, you may readily perceive the reason why so many of us at present refuse the communion of the new Bishops and perform our devotions separate by ourselves, under the presidency of our old ones. The communion itself was difficult (if at all tolerable) before the rent was made : for how could we make him our enemy, or pray that God would confound his devices, whom we durst not lift up our hands against, nor so much as curse, no not in our thoughts ? This was the difficulty we laboured under then, and should we now any longer consent and communicate with them, seeing they have cut themselves off from their lawful Bishops and turned subjects to those that have usurped their thrones, we should unavoidably involve ourselves in their schism.”^o

ⁿ Unity of Priesthood, 40—50.

^o Ibid, 55, 56. The author of *The Hereditary Right* alludes to previous periods, when, on a change of government, only the great men, who held lands upon secular services, as he thinks,

Hody, as before mentioned, laboured to prove, from his ancient MS, that no separation ever took place from a new Bishop, even though uncanonically introduced, unless he was guilty of schism. This position is controverted by the author, who argues that a new Bishop must not only be orthodox in the faith, but canonically introduced into a vacant see, that is a see vacant, according to the Canons of the Church.^p

It is singular, that Watt should make so many mistakes, in his laborious and most valuable work, "*The Bibliotheca Britannica*," respecting the writings of the Nonjurors. He very properly attributes the account of the MS to Hody: but he also makes him the author of the reply, "*The Unity of the Priesthood*." This is an absurdity, the two works being in opposition to each other. Watt makes another singular mistake, in ascribing Hickes's first volume of Tracts, "*The Bibliotheca Scriptorum, &c.*" to Gandy, though the author's name appears on the title page.

Hody replied to the author of the "*Unity of Priesthood*," in "*A Letter to a Friend Concerning the Oxford Treatise against Schism*. 4to. 1692."

One of the most learned of the Nonjurors, and indeed one of the most learned men of that, or of any other period, Henry Dodwell, now came forward in this controversy. Before, however, I notice his works, a brief account of his history to the period in question is necessary.^q

took the Oaths. He says: "Had the Clergy of England enjoyed this privilege at the time of the late Revolution; near four hundred of them had quietly continued in the possession of their livings, of which they were for no other reason deprived but because they were Nonjurors." Pp. 71, 72.

^p *Unity of Priesthood*, 58—61.

^q We have the most unexceptionable testimony to Dodwell's

Dodwell was resident at Oxford, as Camdenian Lecturer, at the Revolution. At an early period, he endeavoured to prevent persons from taking the Oath of Allegiance to the new Sovereigns. As some individuals imagined, that the Oath only required them to live peaceably under the new government, without attempting to disturb the Revolution settlement, Dodwell came forward in "*A Cautionary Discourse of Schism with a particular regard to the case of the Bishops who are suspended for refusing to take the new Oath.*" At that time he hoped to prevent the deprivation of the Bishops. With respect to the Oath, he argued that it pledged the parties, who took it, never to do any thing to promote the cause of the King *de jure*. This, he said, was the view of the loyalists in the time of Cromwell, who could not take the Oaths which were then adopted. His great anxiety, therefore, was that the Oath should not be imposed, foreseeing that a schism must inevitably arise, should such be the case. His main points in the "Cautionary Discourse" were these; that neither the state, nor their fellow Bishops could deprive them of their spiritual characters, and that they could not be deprived by a Synod, since the Bishops, who would be

talents in Calamy's Account of his residence in Oxford. "I had also, while at Oxford, frequent and familiar conversation with the celebrated Mr. Henry Dodwell, certainly as great a master of the historical part of learning as most men." Calamy says that he wished to ingross the conversation to himself; that this was disliked: "but it suited my purpose well enough, who aimed at nothing by being in his company, but the getting some benefit from his great reading. I soon discovered his usual time of being at the coffee house, and would often contrive to be there, that I might have his company." He remarks that he was pleased when difficulties were proposed: "upon starting anything of this kind, he would pour out a flood of learning with great freedom." Calamy's Life, i. 281, 282.

judges, had become responsible to the laws of the land and the Canons of the Church, for deserting the doctrine of passive obedience. He closes with an address to the complying Bishops, to prevent a schism in the Church.^r In his letter to Tillotson he had argued, that the appointment of new Bishops would be to erect *altar* against *altar*: and that they would be cut off from communion with the Church.^s

When the time came for taking the Oath he refused: consequently he was deprived of his post at Oxford. He obtained the following certificate of his removal from the Vice-chancellor. "Nov. 19, 1691. These are to certify whom it may concern, that Mr. Henry Dodwell was dismissed from the Camdenian Lecture of History in Oxford, for not taking the Oath of Allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, as the statute requireth. Jonathan Edwards, Vice-chancellor of Oxon."^t He did not separate from the Parish Churches until the new Bishops were actually appointed, though he had a difficulty in saying *Amen* to some of the prayers, which, however, he did not consider a sufficient ground for separation. But when other Bishops were placed in the Sees of the deprived Prelates, he quitted the communion of the Church. Looking upon the new Bishops as *secundi*, and consequently *nulli*, he could not hold communion with them. He regarded them as schismatics, who had intruded into sees not canoni-

^r Dodwell's Life, pp. 225—234. "Mr. Dodwell first published his Cautionary Discourse of Schism, upon the suspension of Archbishop Sancroft and his six suffragans, with a particular regard to their case, and with a design to prevent if possible the new consecrations." Kettlewell's Life, 126.

^s Dodwell's Life, 220.

^t Ibid. 221.

cally vacant : so that, in his opinion, the Nonjuring Bishops retained their authority, and might challenge their rights. He was one of the most powerful advocates of the party : and having been so long practised in controversy, he was well qualified for the work. Accordingly he made his appearance against Hody and the Baroccian MS.^u

Dodwell first assails the MS. for the want of antiquity, since it was not written before the thirteenth century, and was consequently too late as an evidence of facts. He then comes to Hody's principle, that no separation was allowed even though Bishops were unjustly deprived. All the cases are examined by Dodwell with his usual ability. A brief account of his arguments is also given in his Life.^w Dodwell built a good deal on the fact, that the deprived Bishops asserted *their* rights, and challenged the duty of the people. He also contended that, on St. Cyprian's principles, Bishops placed in sees vacant only by the authority of the secular magistrate, were not only schismatics, but *nulli*. He even charges the new Bishops with heresy, on the ground that they justified their schism by principles. "When it is defended by principles, it turns into false doctrine."^x In considering the Canons suppressed by

^u A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops, asserting their spiritual rights against a lay deprivation, against the charge of Schism as managed by the editors of an anonymous Baroccian MS. In Two Parts. I. Shewing that though the instances collected in the said MS. had been pertinent to the editor's design, yet that would not have been sufficient for obtaining their cause. II. Shewing that the Instances there collected are indeed not pertinent to the editor's design, for indicating the validity of the deprivation of spiritual power by a lay-authority. London, 4to. 1692.

^w Dodwell's Life, pp. 235—53.

^x Vindication of the deprived Bishops, &c. p. 24.

Hody, he remarks, that the lay deprivations must be condemned if they are admitted.

Hody published "A Reply to Dodwell," in which the usual arguments are re-stated, with others which had been suggested by the Vindication.^y From some cause, Dodwell did not again come forward for two years; so that the question between these eminent individuals may be reserved for further consideration in another chapter.

Kettlewell also took a prominent part in this controversy. In the year 1692 he published his "Christian Communion," in which the questions at issue between the Nonjurors and their opponents are elaborately discussed.^z It appeared first as a separate work, and was reprinted with his collected works in 1719. Much was said by the Nonjurors of immoral prayers; and Kettlewell argues for the separation, on the ground, that it was the duty of faithful Bishops and Pastors to provide the means of wor-

^y The case of the sees vacant by an unjust or uncanonical deprivation stated, in answer to a piece entitled A Vindication of the deprived Bishops: together with several pamphlets published as answers to the Baroecian Treatise, 4to, 1693.

^z Of Christian communion to be kept in the unity of Christ's Church, and among the professors of truth and holiness; and of the obligations both of faithful Pastors, to administer orthodox and holy offices, and of faithful people, to communicate in the same. Fitted for persecuted, or divided, or corrupt states of Churches: when they are either borne down by secular persecutions, or broken with schisms, or defiled with simple offices and ministrations, 4to. 1692. Also in his works, vol. ii. p. 471. Kettlewell published two very valuable devotional forms, "A Companion for the Persecuted, or an Office for those who suffer for Righteousness, containing particular Prayers and Devotions for particular Graces, and for their Private or Public Wants and Occasions." And "A Companion for the Penitent, and for Persons troubled in Mind," &c.

ship for the people free of immoral prayers, though they cannot prevent immoral practices. The force of state deprivations : the royal supremacy : schism, with other points, are discussed at great length. Respecting the ordination of *Anti-bishops*, his opinions did not differ materially from Dodwell's : for on quoting St. Cyprian's dictum, that an *Anti-bishop* was no *Bishop*, he says : " But however it might be in the opinion of St. Cyprian and the African Church of that age, the Africans carrying the effect of schism farther than others, to the nulling of their baptisms and ordinations : I think this *nulling of all ordinations of opposite or Anti-bishops, or making them null in themselves, is no Catholic doctrine*, nor did the Church tie itself thereto, or proceed thereby in other ages." After alluding to the Novatian schism, he remarks : " Excepting St. Cyprian, and the Africanes, whom St. Basil notes to have strained the effects of schism too far, and to have outshot the mark in these points ; though there were Anti-bishops, the Catholic Church did not look upon them, and the Priests ordained by them as mere laymen, or null their ordinations, baptisms, or other Church ministrations." It was on this ground that Dodwell acted subsequent to the death of Lloyd. Kettlewell admits that the people, though not the Clergy, may resort to the communion of the Anti-bishops, when they cannot communicate with the rightful Bishops. After proposing the question, he replies : " I hope they may, and that the necessity of having public worship and ministerial offices, will excuse the faultiness and obliquity of having it at the hands of one communicating in a schism, or out of the unity of the Church."^a

^a Works, vol. ii. 621, 622, 635.

God, he says, permits what he calls abatements of duties in cases of necessity: "He has not required that man should stick so fast to those duties, or parts of duties, which are inferior, or subservient, or appendages unto others; as that for their sakes they should drop other duties, which are principal or superior to them. So that to think he will abate and relax something of the duty of Church union, when that is necessary to keep on the more important duty of public ministrations: and that he doth not tye the people up to such strict state of communicating in the unity of the Church, as must drop or let fall all communion in ministerial offices, when they are not to be had, but at the hands of those who minister in breach thereof: is only to think that he is ready to make the same equitable allowance on any competition in these, as he doth on like competition, in other duties."^b He then cites certain instances from the Old Testament: after which he remarks: "It did the same in our own great rebellion, when our Bishops were all driven out and deposed with the King. For then the orthodox took up with the communion of the Parish Churches, and thought, that for the sake of public worship and ministerial offices, they might do so, where they had no ministers of their own to communicate with. So that in the opinion of those, our ancestors, it was a good excuse for having divine offices in such assemblies, when they could have better no where else. Lastly, this necessity of having some ministerial offices *is generally thought to legitimate communion in those Churches which have no Bishops.* They must have some divine service and religion. And if they

^b Works, &c. 639.

can have no ministration thereof in an Episcopal communion, they must take up with it from such other as they can have." This principle he applies only to the people, but on the same ground he thinks, that the Clergy may in cases of necessity *minister "without episcopal powers."*

A distinction is drawn between Rome and the Church of England. He argues the impossibility of communicating with Rome, because she imposes a compliance with her corruptions as a condition of partaking in the sound portions of her offices. He remarks that "The necessity of having ministerial offices, as it will excuse the faultiness of meeting with those who are in a schism: so, I conceive, will excuse men too in bearing with these corrupt matters and immoral additions, whilst they can be allowed sufficiently to signify and express their dissent from them."^c With respect to public fasts or thanksgivings he says: "It is insincere for those, who abhor that design which they are appointed to carry on, to afford their presence, or meet at them. But I think it is not so with any particular passages and petitions, in the ordinary devotions, at other times."^d

Another extract will be acceptable, inasmuch as it proves that Kettlewell acted with great moderation, and that his opinions differed from those of Hickes and his friends at a later period. "And thus, I think, it may appear both how careful we ought to be in shunning the communion of Antibishops and their schismatical adherents, when we have other opportunities: and how, for the benefit of some ministerial offices, we may be at liberty to take up with them, when we can have the same from none

^c Works, vol. ii. 643, 648 650.

^d Ibid. 652.

else. Yea, for all they happen at any time to have made an addition of immoral mixtures to a body of otherwise good and sufficient prayers, if we openly and sufficiently express our dislike, and standing off from them, whilst we as openly concur and join in others." Some persons pleaded a zeal against Popery for complying with the new order of things. Kettlewell, who was as much opposed to Popery as any who complied, remarks: "The zeal against Popery, is given out often in these latter days of the world, to go furthest in blinding many. But though Popery, on account of the many dangerous errors and unlawful practices thereof, is a most dangerous religion: yet must they be a strange sort of religious persons who can think nothing but Popery will endanger them. And I beg all such as are in earnest for the salvation of their souls, to consider that it is as wretched a part, both of folly and wickedness, to throw away their souls in any immoral or otherwise unlawful ways, to keep out Popery: as it would be to throw them away in turning to it."e These extracts show that Kettlewell's views were more moderate than those of Collier, Hickes, and other leaders in the schism.

There was scarcely a controversy of that period, in which Stillingfleet, the great controversialist of the age, did not take a part. I have already alluded to several of his treatises: but his views of the Oath of Allegiance and the Prayers are perhaps no where more fully and distinctly stated, than in the following extracts.

In a sermon intended for the Thanksgiving in 1694 he says: "But there are many persons among us

e Works, 654, 655.

who are still, as they say, *unsatisfied in point of conscience as to this government*, and therefore cannot join with us on such days as this, nor in the public offices of devotion in our Church.” After quoting Mezeray respecting one of the Revolutions in France, “that when God designs to change the government of a nation, he strangely disposes the minds of the people to it ;” he adds: “I do not think this a sufficient reason: because the people may change their opinions without reason: but when this is joined with other circumstances, of an injured prince, a just war, unexpected success, a public design against religion and liberties, no means left for any farther securing of them, but a wilful leaving the nation and government to shift for themselves, then the free consent of the people in such a way as it can be had, is of very great moment and consideration.” He touches the two questions of the Deprivations and the Public Offices. He remarks that the Bishops refused to act when invited to do so, and that the separation was groundless. “Here, says he, was no such force as was used in St. Chrysostom’s case, when he was taken from his see, and by a guard of soldiers was hurried from place to place, till he was wearied out of his life. Here were no such violent proceedings as in the cases of Euphemius, Macedonius, Elias and others. Nothing required of them contrary to Scripture, Fathers, and Councils, or the Articles of our Church: nothing but what the law required as a security to the present government: and if their consciences were not satisfied as to the giving of that, they might have retired and lived quietly. But why a separation? Where is there any precedent of this kind in the whole Christian Church, viz. of a poli-

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tical schism, where all the offices of religion are the same: only some are deprived for not doing what the law of the land requires: i. e. they rather chose to lose their places than to do their duties; which is a very new ground of separation, and utterly unknown to the Christian Church." He thus alludes to the other question: "As to the public Offices of the Church, with respect to their Majesties, I can find no one instance, in the Greek or Latin Church, where these were scrupled to be used with respect to those who were in actual possession of the throne by the providence of God, and consent of the people. And I have this plain evidence against it, that nothing more than these is put into the Offices themselves."^f Elsewhere he remarks, "It is said by a learned Greek ritualist, that their prayers for the Emperors were to be used, whether they came to the throne by succession, election, or revolution. That in case of any doubt concerning different persons, the prayers were made for those who were in actual possession by the providence of God."^g

A strong pamphlet was published at this period, entitled "*Querela Temporum, or The Danger of the Church of England.*" The writer's aim was to induce the belief, that the danger from Presbytery, at that time, was as great as the danger of Popery, prior to the Revolution. Many acts of the government, such as the setting aside episcopacy in Scotland, and the promotion of men of latitudinarian principles, are adduced. It does not appear that any effect was produced by this work. Ralph says: "How

^f Stillingfleet's *Miscellaneous Discourses*, 432—436.

^g *Ibid.* 418.

earnestly and sincerely soever they laboured to render it effectual, it had not the desired effect: the Clergy, satisfied that their rents and revenues were safe, had no inclination to countenance any such measure as might perhaps really endanger them.”^h The pamphlet was probably written by Hickes.ⁱ

^h Ralph, ii. 533.

ⁱ This work contains some singular particulars respecting the state of Episcopacy and Presbytery in Scotland. It is evident that the majority of the people in many parts, and especially the upper classes, were Episcopalians. Yet some persons pretend, that the country, with a few exceptions, was Presbyterians.





CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1694—1701-2.

TILLOTSON'S DEATH.—HICKES'S REMARKS ON BURNET AND TILLOTSON.—ATTACKS ON THE ARCHBISHOP.—ON BURNET.—FUND FOR THE RELIEF OF THE NONJURING CLERGY.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT.—CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DEPRIVED BISHOPS.—THE ABSOLUTION OF PERKINS AND FRIEND BY COLLIER, COOK, AND SNATT.—WORKS ON THE SUBJECT.—SIR JOHN FENWICK.—DEATH OF BISHOP WHITE.—THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE.—DODWELL AND HODY.—DEATH OF BISHOP TURNER.—DEATH OF KING JAMES.—OATH OF ABJURATION.—DEATH OF KING WILLIAM.



ARCHBISHOP Tillotson, the successor of Sancroft, died shortly after his excellent predecessor in 1694. Tillotson was a man of no ordinary character: but, from his position as Archbishop of Canterbury at such a period of excitement, he was exposed to severe animadversions from the Nonjurors, who regarded him as the leader of a schism in the Anglican Church. It must, however, be confessed, that Tillotson's views of ecclesiastical matters were what were termed latitudinarian. In this work, it is no part of my business to enter into particulars respecting those persons, who complied at the Revolution, except so far as it may be necessary for the purpose of throwing light on the subject, of which I am treating. Consequently I shall not be expected to give an account of Tillotson's life. It will be sufficient to confine myself to

those points; which are immediately connected with the Nonjurors.

Soon after the Archbishop's decease, Burnet published the sermon which he had preached on occasion of his funeral. This was a signal for renewed attacks upon the Bishops and Clergy, for their compliance with the new order of things. Hickes was perhaps the most severe in his animadversions, which must be regarded with some suspicion, since they proceeded from a man, to whom the Archbishop, in consequence of the line which he had taken, was most obnoxious. I am, however, inclined to think, that the severe remarks were partly called forth by the strain of panegyric, in which the preacher so largely indulged. "Burnet," says Ralph, "preached his funeral sermon; and the character he gave of the deceased (*severely true*, as he declares it was, and rather less than larger than the life) together with the overflow of rancour, which in the same breath he rashly discharged against the deprived clergy, drew both on the *dead* and the *living* as severe invectives: according to the preacher, Tillotson was a man whose life was free from blemishes, was shining in all the parts of it, was an example of all sublime and heroical piety and virtue, and a pattern both to Church and State: according to those who answered him, supposing these things to be true, they were not to be admitted on the authority of him who delivered them: according to them, Burnet had no authority, and Tillotson's life abounded more with blemishes than beauties: and the truth of the matter is, that prejudice was equally predominant on both sides."^a Undoubtedly Tillotson was a man

^a Ralph, ii. 535, 536.

of high character ; but on Church matters his opinions were extremely lax. That the invectives of Hickes were unjust may be admitted, without involving an approval of all the praises of Burnet.

Some of Hickes's statements are extremely curious. For example, we are told, that Burnet was once turned out of the house by Dr. Dove, for arguing too warmly in favour of the Oath, though the latter had complied. Hickes remarks of Scott and Dove, that they were men of a different stamp from Burnet, who, having experienced a difficulty themselves respecting the Oath, retained a tender compassion for those who refused. It was alleged, that some of the complying Clergy acted very unkindly towards the sufferers, especially in preventing their private meetings, and in suppressing their books. According to Hickes, many of their books were actually destroyed. "There must," says he, "be something formidable in their writings, and some reasonings in them which these *men of latitude* cannot well answer, that they use so much diligence to suppress them, at a time when *atheists, heretics, and republicans* print and publish what they please, with little or no molestation." He prints a paper containing an account of the seizure, by the government, during the years 1692, 1693, and 1695, of five printing presses, with a considerable number of pamphlets. The titles of several of the works, which were seized and suppressed, are given by Hickes, together with a list of books, which, as he states, had not been answered. The circumstance shews, that the government acted with considerable severity : they would not permit the Nonjurors to publish their reasons for non-compliance. Anderton, whose case has been already mentioned, was one of the printers.

That many of the Clergy of the Revolution were latitudinarian in their opinions, is, as we have seen, admitted by Mr. Hallam, than whom a more unexceptionable witness could not be adduced. This charge is strongly urged by Hickes against Burnet. In his sermon, Burnet had said, that Tillotson left men to use their own discretion in small matters. Hickes, commenting on this assertion, states, that the Archbishop was accustomed to administer the Lord's Supper to some persons sitting, and that especially a certain lady of Dr. Owen's congregation was so accustomed to receive it in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn: that he walked round the chapel, administering the elements first to those who were seated in their pews, and then to those who were kneeling at the rails, not, however, going within himself, but standing without. This was a direct breach of the order of the Church, and may be regarded as an evidence of the extent of latitudinarian practices. It seems that Tillotson did not stand alone in this particular: for Hickes asserts, that the Bishop of St. Asaph adopted the same practice, at Kidder's church, in administering the Lord's Supper to Dr. Bates, and other nonconformists.^b When we contemplate such proceedings on the part of men high in station in the Church, we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that the latitudinarian principles, which prevailed to a considerable extent after the Revolution, did really place the Church in some danger. By the good providence of God, however, the Clergy in general were actuated by purer notions: and within a few years the danger was averted.

^b Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the Funeral Sermon of the Former upon the Latter. 4to. 1695. *Preface*, and pp. 72, 73.

It was not unnatural for the Nonjurors to form harsh views of Tillotson, viewing him as they did as an intruder into the place of Sancroft, whom they regarded as a confessor: but in some of their productions they over-stepped the bounds of truth and justice, to such an extent, that they injured their own cause. Thus the charge of Socinianism was alleged shortly after the Archbishop's death—a charge of a most unfounded description, though, undoubtedly, Tillotson's latitudinarian notions on many subjects appeared to afford some colour for the allegation. One work in particular, supposed to have been written by Leslie, abounded in severe and unfounded remarks on this subject.^c At a later period, after Birch had published his very laudatory *Life of the Archbishop*, all the old charges were revived by Smith, in his *Remarks* on that production. An account of Smith and his writings will be found in a subsequent chapter; but this is the proper place for alluding to his work on the Archbishop. It is a most severe and unjust attack upon Tillotson's memory. While Birch's work partakes of the character of Burnet's *Sermon*, Smith's volume resembles in its bitterness the animadversions of Hickes. His censures on the Archbishop, for entering upon the see of Sancroft, may be pardoned in a Nonjuring writer; but no excuse can be pleaded for the severity which is displayed, in almost every page, against a kind and amiable man. Some of Smith's works were distinguished for candour and good temper; but, in speaking of Tillotson, he forgets himself so far as to indulge in very great

^c The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson considered, &c. By a true Son of the Church of England, 4to. 1695. Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 322—324.

bitterness. Birch's was a very partial and a very prejudiced production ; yet, neither the work itself, nor the Archbishop, merited the treatment which they received from Smith. Some of Tillotson's views and practices were justly liable to censure ; but no justification can be pleaded for the acrimony and personal abuse, with which the *Remarks* abound. Probably there was some foundation for Smith's charge, that Tillotson recommended the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland : but he further alleges that the Archbishop would also have sacrificed it in England, if the Revolution could not have been completed without its destruction. In some things Birch, who was ever ready to throw out insinuations and reflections against the Nonjurors, is subjected to deserved castigation. One of Birch's charges is thus indignantly, but justly repelled by the author : " he brings a charge against the non-swearing Clergy, which is most injurious and false : that they hoped and wished the alterations in the Liturgy might have been made by the convocation, that they might have been furnished with more specious pretences for a separation. For the Archbishop and Bishops of that communion did not separate at all from the Church of England, either in doctrine, worship, or government. It is, therefore, a calumny to assert, that they hoped and wished for the alterations, since they did all they could to put a stop to such a dangerous project : and they used their strongest interest and the best arguments they could think of with the more orthodox part of the complying Clergy, who never betrayed their order, and were against comprehending away the Church, and retained a very tender respect for their old brethren, and wished they might come again to communion

with them.”^d Smith’s statement is strictly true, and Birch must be regarded as a calumniator of the deprived Bishops and Clergy, in imputing to them such a wish. It is an undoubted fact, that they used their utmost exertions to prevent the contemplated alterations.

Burnet’s conduct was, in many respects, as will be gathered from a preceding chapter, more open to animadversion than Tillotson’s: and his Funeral Sermon on the Archbishop was the occasion of renewed attacks upon him, for the part he had acted in the Revolution. He had formerly preached strongly against the power of the people, and in favour of non-resistance. “Less disorder,” said he on one occasion, “was to be apprehended from the pretensions of the Roman Bishops, than from those maxims of judging and controlling the magistrate, and which opened a door to endless confusion, and set every private person in the throne.” To these passages from his own writings, “they opposed,” says Ralph, “his own practice in persuading the Princess of Orange to the unnatural invasion of her father’s crown.”^e Thus, we are told, “he was engaged in aid of the deepest and most heinous treason, that subject ever was engaged in: I mean in persuading the Princess of Orange to consent to the unnatural invasion of her father’s kingdom, by the Prince, which then was resolved upon, and with him to take his crown, if the invasion should succeed. This he

^d Remarks upon the Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, compiled by Thomas Birch, D.D. 8vo. London 1754. pp. 45, 79, 80.

^e Ralph, ii. 536.

thought so meritorious and honourable a piece of service, that soon after he came to London, he could not deny himself the satisfaction of telling some friends that he was the man pitched upon to break the design of deposing the King her father, to her Royal Highness, two years before the Revolution: and that he gained her consent upon condition, that the Prince might assume the royal power with her, and be crowned with her. He told it to this purpose in the Deanery House of St. Paul's, and for the truth of it I appeal to the then Dean of that Church, I mean Dr. Stillingfleet, and to the worthy Bishop of Peterborough, I mean Dr. White, who was present, when he spoke to that effect."^f Hickes is undoubtedly more severe on Burnet, than truth and justice required; but it cannot be denied, that the Bishop was too much of a partizan to be an honest actor in such

^f Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, &c. &c. pp. 12, 13. Some curious particulars of Burnet, though of a different description, are given in this work by Hickes. In the year 1673, he published "A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland," with a Dedication of a highly laudatory character to the Duke of Lauderdale. A large number of copies was sold by the author to Moses Pitt. Some time after, Burnet quarrelled with the Duke, on which account he requested Pitt to cancel the Dedication in the unsold copies. Pitt replied that he could not sell an imperfect as a perfect book. Burnet, therefore, received the unsold copies again, and they were afterward circulated in a mutilated form: so that when Hickes wrote in 1695 it was difficult to meet with a perfect copy. Ibid. p. 19. At present the book is met with in both states, some copies having the Dedication, others being destitute of it. It is singular that Burnet's Work on the Articles, the work by which perhaps he is best known, should have been condemned by the Lower House of Convocation, on the ground that it encouraged diversities of opinions, which the Articles were especially intended to prevent. His "Own Times" is a work full of gossip: but he did a service to the Church in his "History of the Reformation."

times as those, in which he lived. He was uncharitable towards the Nonjurors, who on their part regarded him as a man of no principle. His predilections for the Prince of Orange were so strong, that on some occasions, in his zeal for William, he appears almost to have lost the sense of right and wrong. Calamy states, that there were only five Nonjurors in Burnet's diocese, a circumstance which he conceives redounds to the Bishop's credit. Calamy mentions Martin, who was continued in his living though he refused the Oath : Spinkes, who was permitted to serve his parish by a curate : Jones, who was allowed to nominate his successor : Dickson, who died shortly after the period fixed for the deprivation : and Beale, who retained his living two years after the *first* of February 1690.* It certainly happened, that there were fewer Clergymen, who refused the Oaths in the diocese of Salisbury, than in some others : but this circumstance cannot be attributed to the Bishop's influence, or to the affection of the Clergy for his lordship : for it is certain, that he was very unpopular with many. There were, however, more than five Clergymen in the diocese of Sarum, who refused the Oath : nor is Calamy's account of Burnet's lenity in the cases already cited to be depended on. The Bishop was not lenient with the Nonjurors. His dislike to them was too strong to permit him to connive at their remaining in their livings, after the period fixed by the Act of Parliament for their deprivation. In many other dioceses they were kindly treated by the Bishops, though in none were they permitted to hold their livings, after they had refused the Oath. Indeed, the Bishops had no such power : for when the

* Calamy's Abridgement.

appointed day arrived, the patrons were at liberty to present other Clerks for institution.

We have seen, that the Nonjurors, both Bishops and Clergy, suffered the loss of all things, rather than act against their consciences. Worldly substance, honours, station—all were given up by these truly devoted men. Their conduct, throughout their whole career, is a triumphant answer to the flippant charge of a popish leaning. Had such been the case they would have taken the Oath, in order that they might secretly promote their own designs. But they resorted to no unworthy arts. They were content to suffer in what they deemed a righteous cause. Their sufferings and self denial are little known to the public, because no chronicler has yet been found to gather up the scattered materials of this despised but interesting body. Calamy and others laud the patience of the ministers ejected in 1662 ; but their sufferings were in no case greater, while, in many instances, they were less, than those of the Nonjurors. There is, moreover, this striking difference between the two classes of sufferers. The ejected ministers did not suffer in silence : they raised their cry, and it was heard : they found numerous advocates ; but the Nonjurors were left to themselves ; they endured their trials in silence and with meekness ; and few persons were found to afford them so much as their sympathy.

Some even of the Bishops, men who had lived in honour and affluence, were reduced to the greatest extremities ; becoming dependent on the bounty of others ; though previous to the Revolution they possessed an abundance. In some cases they were in a state of actual poverty : while in none did they possess more than a mere pittance. Ken lived chiefly

with his noble friends at Long-leat : and Sancroft had only a trifle to sustain him in his last days. The Primate of the Anglican Church, who had been the occupier of more than one Palace, was brought to end his days in a cottage. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the Deprived Romish Bishops were provided for ; but in the case of the Nonjuring Prelates no provision was made by persons in authority.

In January 1694-5 a plan for the relief of the suffering Clergy was devised by Mr. Kettlewell, by whom also a model was drawn up for the management of a fund, which was placed under the control of the Deprived Bishops, with such clergymen, as they might think proper to associate with them for its distribution. Something of the kind was rendered necessary by the indigent circumstances, in which they were placed. An inquiry was to be made respecting the incomes of the deprived Clergy, as also their expenses ; but, to guard against pretenders, evidence was required, that the deprivations had taken place on account of the Oaths. It was thought, that by granting them relief, they would not be under the temptation of deserting the truth or acting dishonourably. There is a curious regulation respecting the Clergy in London. "The Clergy here who have no business, but stay in Town as the best place of gifts, may be sent into the counties, where they will be much better maintained at half the charge, and where they may do service. And others will have no excuse to spend most of their time in Coffee-Houses and hunting after gifts ; but when they are not employed in their holy functions, may follow their studies to improve themselves." All was managed with prudence so as not to give offence to the government. " In speaking of themselves, if they add an

epithet, noting only the actual suffering and force they are under, but not the justice of it on one side or other, they would neither assert their titles to offend others, nor any ways forego or give them up to prejudice themselves.”^h

Kettlewell died April 12, 1695, before the plan could be carried into effect. An account of his last moments is given in a letter to Nelson his Executor, by an individual who was present. He was resigned and cheerful in the prospect of entering the eternal world. Ken performed the Funeral Service over the grave of his friend in his episcopal robes, having also read the Evening Service, by permission of the minister of the Parish. He was buried in the Parish Church of All-Hallows, near the Tower, and in the same grave, in which the body of Archbishop Laud had rested, from his death until the Restoration, when it was removed and deposited in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxon, of which he had been a member, and to which he was so liberal a benefactor.ⁱ

The plan, however, was sanctioned by the Deprived Prelates, who wrote the following letter in its recommendation :

“ To all Christian people, to whom this charitable recommendation shall be presented, Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.”

“ Whereas, We, the present Deprived Bishops of this Church, have certain information that many of our deprived brethren of the clergy, with their wives, children, and families, are reduced to extreme want, and unable to support themselves, and their

^h Ibid. App. These extracts are from the *model*.

ⁱ Kettlewell's Works, i. 177, 187, and Appendix.

several charges, without the charitable relief of pious and well-disposed Christians: and being earnestly moved by several of them to represent their distressed condition to the mercy and compassion of such tender-hearted persons, as are inclined to commiserate and relieve the afflicted servants of God.

“ Now We, in compliance with their intreaty, and with all due regard to their suffering circumstances, have thought it our duty, (as far as in law we may) heartily to recommend their necessitous condition to all pious, good people: hoping and praying, that they will take their case into their serious consideration, and putting on the bowels of charity, extend their alms to them, and their needy families.”

“ And we will not cease to pray for a blessing upon such their benefactors; and remain in all Christian Offices, Yours,

William, Bp. of Norwich	} now Deprived ^k
Robert, Bp. of Gloucester	
Francis, Bp. of Ely	
Thomas, Bp. of Bath and Wells	
Thomas, Bp. of Peterborough	

July, 22, 1695.”

It might have been supposed, that no one could have been offended by this simple appeal to the sympathies of the affluent, in behalf of a body of peaceable sufferers for conscience sake. Yet the jealousy

^k Kettlewell's Works, Life, 163, 169, and Appendix, xxv-vii. It seems not to have been an unusual thing to enter the private meetings of the Nonjurors. Thus, it is said, that Grascome was interrupted by a Messenger, while he was ministering to his little congregation in Scroop's Court, near St. Andrew's Church. Ralph, ii. 526.

of the government was aroused by this proceeding on the part of the Bishops. The pious Ken was summoned before the Privy Council to answer certain interrogatories. He was asked, "*Did you subscribe this Paper?*" He replied, "My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a very happy effect : for the will of my blessed Redeemer was fulfilled ; and what we were not able to do ourselves, was done by others." It was said by the council, "*No one condemns charity, but the way you have taken to procure it : your Paper is illegal.*" This was an extraordinary charge ; and was thus met by Ken : "My Lords, I can plead to the Evangelical part : I am no lawyer, but shall want lawyers to plead that." He then states, that the project originated with Kettlewell, who was now deceased : that having signed it he retired to the country in an obscure village, "where I live above the suspicion of giving umbrage to the government." It was then objected by the council, that the money had been given to immoral men : "*particularly to one, who goes in a gown one day, and in a blue silk waistcoat another.*" Ken remarked, that to give to an ill man might be a mistake, but not a crime. He stated also, that a thousand persons were imprisoned in his Diocese, after Monmouth's rebellion ; that he had relieved their wants ; and that King James had never complained of his conduct. They admitted, that they did not charge him individually with giving to improper persons, but that it had been done by others. But they add, "*The Paper comes out with a pretence of authority, and it is illegal, and in the nature of a brief.*" Ken replied, that he was not prepared to argue the legal point. It was then pretended that the Bishops by their Paper had "*usurped Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.*" The Bishop replies to this

strange charge : “ My Lords, I never heard that begging was a part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction : and in this Paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope may be allowed us.”

Ken left the account behind him signed with his own name, and dated April 28 1696.^k The government must have been under some very erroneous impression to pursue so singular a course. Nothing could have been more harmless than the plan adopted by the Bishops : and, therefore, I am convinced, that some prejudiced persons must have persuaded the authorities to take up the matter, and summon Ken to London to answer the interrogatories of the council. The Clergy were in a starving condition ; yet some persons were unwilling that the hand of charity should be opened for their relief. The council must have felt the reproof conveyed by the fact, that Ken had relieved the persons who had been implicated in Monmouth’s rebellion, and that King James did not complain of his conduct.

All the Bishops were in very narrow circumstances. This was especially the case with Turner, who was chiefly dependent on the charity of others. The man, who, by adhering to the new Sovereigns and taking the Oath, might have ended his days amidst an abundance of earthly blessings, was actually sustained, in his declining years, by the bounty of those who sympathized with him in his distresses. Yet this man was exposed, while living, to all kinds of charges : and after his death, his memory was traduced by a set of men, whose principles allowed them to adopt any line of conduct in support of their worldly in-

^k Hawkins’s Short Account, pp. 48—56. Kettlewell. Appendix, pp. xxviii-ix. Biog. Brit. Art. Ken.

terest. There is something exceedingly painful in the fact, that men, who preferred a good conscience to a bishopric, should not only have been in poverty, but also maligned and traduced by many, whose principles changed with their circumstances.

We now come to a singular circumstance, on the part of Collier, and some of his brethren. In the year 1696, a plot was discovered against the life of King William: and Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins were brought to trial on a charge for being implicated in the conspiracy. These gentlemen were found guilty, and sentenced to death. At the place of execution, Collier, Cook, and Snatt appeared on the platform with the criminals: and just previous to the completion of the sentence, Collier publicly absolved the parties, performing the ceremony with the imposition of hands. It struck many persons as strange, *first*, that absolution should have been granted under such circumstances, and *secondly*, that the ceremony of imposition of hands, which was not practised by the Church of England, should have been used.

So great an impression was made on the public mind by the circumstance, that the two Archbishops and ten Bishops published a declaration against the practice, intitled: "A Declaration of the Sense of the Archbishops and Bishops now in and about London upon the occasion of their attendance in Parliament, concerning the irregular and scandalous proceedings of certain clergymen, at the execution of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins." The document is somewhat curious, as expressive of the opinions of the Bishops respecting the schism, which had now occurred. A paper or papers had been delivered by the criminals to the sheriffs, which were afterwards printed and circulated, and in which Sir

John Friend speaks of the Church of the Nonjurors as the Church of England. The Bishops say, that they felt themselves obliged to express their sense of the conduct of the three clergymen. Alluding to Sir John Friend's expression, they remark of the Church of England, "that venerable name is, by the author of that paper, appropriated to that part of our Church which hath separated itself from the body; and more particularly to a faction of them, who are so furiously bent upon the restoring of the late King, that they seem not to regard by what means it is to be effected." His words were as follows:

"I profess myself, and I thank God I am so, a member of the Church of England, though, God knows, a most unworthy and unprofitable part of it, of that Church which suffers so much at present, for a strict adherence to the laws and Christian principles.

For this I suffer, and for this I die."

The Bishops add, that they conceive, that Sir William Perkins used the term in the same sense, "being assured (as we are by very good information) that both he and Sir John Friend had withdrawn themselves from our public assemblies some time before their death." They then proceed to arraign the conduct of the three clergymen, Collier, Snatt, and Cook: "For those clergymen, who took upon them to absolve these criminals at the place of execution, by laying, all three together, their hands upon their heads, and publicly pronouncing a form of absolution; as their manner of doing this was extremely insolent, and without precedent, either in our Church or any other that we know of, so the thing itself was altogether irregular. The rubric in our office of the Visitation of the Sick, from whence

they took the words they then used, and upon which, if upon any thing in our Liturgy, they must ground this their proceeding, gave them no authority nor pretence for absolving these persons." They further state, that the rubric relates to sick persons who have made a confession ; while these clergymen absolved notorious criminals, without even moving them to make a special confession of their sins, the parties themselves not desiring absolution. It is alleged, that the Clergy, as they knew nothing of the state of mind in which the criminals were, could not absolve them, without a breach of the order of the Church. The Bishops also add, that the Clergy, if they were aware of the sentiments of the criminals declared in their papers, must have viewed them as *hardened impenitents*, or *martyrs*. The Bishops consider the former supposition as quite out of the question : but they remark on the other, " If they held these men to be martyrs, then their absolving them in that manner was a justification of those grievous crimes for which these men suffered, and an open affront to the laws both of Church and State." The Bishops then add, that they were moved by a desire to prevent the Church from being misunderstood ; and that, therefore, " we disown and detest all such principles and practices ; looking upon them as highly schismatical and seditious, dangerous both to the Church and State, and contrary to the true doctrine and spirit of the Christian religion."¹

It was to be supposed, that the government would

¹ State Tracts, vol. iii. 692-3. Ralph remarks, that among the Bishops " were Crew of Durham, Mew of Winchester, and Sprat of Rochester." Vol. ii. 646. These three Prelates had acted very inconsistently in the preceding reign.

not remain quiet, especially after such a document from the Bishops. Some of their advocates indeed charged the act as popish—a very convenient charge at all times for what is disliked, or cannot be disproved. The act of the Bishops was made the ground of a proceeding against the three Clergymen. “In pursuance of this, the Court of King’s Bench gave orders for an indictment against them, on the 7th of April following : and Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were committed to Newgate on suspicion of High Treason, and treasonable practices : but such was the lenity of the government, and his Grace of Canterbury’s moderation, in interceding for the delinquents, that no manner of punishment was inflicted on them, and Mr. Collier was not so much as called in question, on account of his great endowments and parts, for justifying his practice in several printed papers.”^m In the present day we may feel surprise at this statement, as if the men had really been guilty of any crime, at which the government could justly take offence.

Collier absconded, but Cook and Snatt were admitted to bail. Collier refused to give bail, because he imagined that by doing so, he should acknowledge the government of King William. He was accordingly outlawed : and under this sentence he continued, because he refused to submit. He printed his “Case of Giving Bail,” of which it was said, only five copies were struck off. If, therefore, he was not called to account, it was because he was not discovered.

But though outlawed and living in retirement,

^m Life of Tennison, 60, 61.

Collier was not the man to remain silent. Soon after the appearance of Sir John Friend's paper, a Pamphlet was published containing animadversions on that document, taking it in separate paragraphs.ⁿ In the outset, the writer charges the authorship upon the three Clergymen. He grounds this charge on alleged internal evidence, and on certain circumstances, which in his opinion, rendered it impossible for Sir John Friend to write it. Sir John said, that the cause for which he suffered, was the cause of God and true religion. On his trial he had denied the charges alleged against him: and moreover proved by witnesses, that he had attended the church in which King William was prayed for. The author of *The Letter*, therefore, charges him with hypocrisy, if he considered the cause of King James as the cause of God. He prayed for King James's restoration in the very paper given to the Sheriffs.

Collier found means, in his retirement, to publish a defence of his conduct in the absolution of the two criminals at the place of execution.^o In an advertisement he states that Cook and Snatt "have been altogether unacquainted with, unconcerned in, and unconsenting to, the penning or publication of these two Papers." Whatever appearances may be, at first sight, against Collier, no one ought to come to a con-

ⁿ A Letter to the Three Absolvers, Mr. Cook, Mr. Collier, and Mr. Snatt, being reflections on the Papers delivered by Sir John Friend, and Sir William Parkyns, to the Sheriffs of London. At Tyburn, April 3, 1696, which said paragraphs are printed at length and answered, paragraph by paragraph. Fol. London, 1696.

^o A Defence of the Absolution given to Sir William Perkins at the Place of Execution. With a further Vindication thereof, occasioned by a Paper, entitled, a Declaration of the Sense of the Archbishops and Bishops, &c.

clusion, until his defence has been considered. He commences by stating, that his being present at the execution had been misunderstood. It seems that strong censures appeared in some of the newspapers, and that Collier, in consequence of what he heard, secreted himself. He adds, "not without reason; for on Monday about twelve at night, six or eight persons rushed into my lodgings, broke open a trunk, and seized some Papers of value, though perfectly inoffensive and foreign to their purpose. And since I understand there is a Bill found against me for high misdemeanor. And now one would think I had done something very extraordinary.^p"

Collier then gives a narrative of his proceedings. After his trial, Sir William Perkins, whom he had not seen for four or five years, sent for Collier, who visited him in Newgate. After two days he was not permitted to see the prisoner alone: and at length he was refused altogether, so that he did not see him from Wednesday, April 1, until Friday, at the place of execution. Sir William had spoken freely to Collier on the state of his mind, and desired that the absolution of the Church might be pronounced the last day. On Friday Collier was refused admittance to the prison: and therefore he went to the place of execution and gave the absolution there, since he was not allowed to give it elsewhere, using the *Form* in The Office for *The Visitation of the Sick*. Collier states, that when a man had declared his sorrow for his faults, the Absolution was not to be denied. He then comes to the *imposition of hands*, arguing for it as an innocent and an ancient ceremony. Others, he says, are shocked at the thing itself; and

^p Defence, &c. p. 1.

he asks, "are all people damned that are cast in a capital indictment? If so, to what purpose are they visited by divines; why are they exhorted to repentance, and have time allowed them to fit them for death?" He asserts that he considered Sir William to have a right to the privileges of communion; and that, in refusing him absolution, he should have failed in his duty. In reply to the objection alleged against the publicity of the ceremony, Collier declares, that it would have been performed in private, if the authorities had admitted him to the prison. He also denies, that Sir William confessed to him that he was privy to the Assassination. The *first* Paper was dated April 9th, 1696.

The second paper was printed a fortnight later, in consequence of the Declarations of the Bishops. Collier regards their paper as an unsupported censure. In this paper he enters, at some length, on the defence of the practice of the imposition of hands, on the ground of its primitive use. To the charge, that no such ceremony is enjoined by the rubric, he replies: "true; neither is there any prohibition. The Rubric is perfectly silent both as to posture and gesture, and yet some circumstances of this nature must of necessity be used. Now since our Church allows the priest imposition of hands in another case, and does not forbid it in this, is it any harm if our liberty moves upward, and determines itself by general usage and primitive practice?"^a Some "*Animadversions*" on Collier's Two Papers were speedily published. They were written by Hody, and at the command of the Archbishop, Tennison. Collier, who seldom allowed an opponent to remain

^a Defence, &c. p. 9.

unanswered, was soon ready with a reply. The only point which it is necessary to notice, relates to the same question as the preceding extract: and as Collier enters fully into the matter, which is really one of great interest, another quotation will not be unacceptable to the reader. The animadverter states, that the ceremony is not retained by the Church of England: and that consequently ministers should not make use of any, which are not positively enjoined. Collier replies as follows. "His affirming that *imposition of hands* is not retained in the Church of *England*, will not hold generally speaking. For this ceremony is retained both in *orders* and *confirmation*: which is a sufficient argument of its being approved by the Church. But the Church does not retain it in her absolutions. I grant 'tis not in the rubric for that purpose. And therefore, had it been used at the *Daily Service* or upon any *solemn occasion* regulated by the Church there might have been some pretence for exception: but the *rubric* and *act* of uniformity, mentioned by the *animadverter*, provide only against innovations, in stated and public *administrations*. 'Tis in *Churches* and *Church appointments* that the rubric condemns *adding* or *diminishing*. But this is none of the present case. For the Church has not prescribed us any *office* for *executions*. Every priest is here left to his liberty, both as to *office* and gesture, to substance and ceremony. The devotion may be all private composition, if the confessor pleases. And when out of respect to the Church, he selects any part of her liturgy, though the form is public, the choice and occasion are private, which makes it fall under another denomination. The selected office in this case, is like coin melted into bullion. The public impression is gone: and with

that the forfeitures for clipping and alloy are gone too : and the honest proprietor may add to the quantity, or alter the figure as he thinks fit. I confess had the Church excepted against the *imposition of hands* in absolution : had she condemned the *ceremony* thus applied, and laid a general prohibition upon it : her members ought to govern themselves accordingly, and not to use it, so much as in private : but since the Church prescribes this *rite* in her *rubric*, and takes notice of it only by way of practice and approbation : when matters stand thus, I say, her *non-prohibition* implies allowance in private ministrations, and in cases no way determined by herself. For pray what is liberty, but the absence of command, the silence of authority, and leaving things in their natural indifferency ? Thus the point was understood and practised by the famous Bishop Sanderson, upon one of the most solemn occasions, and in which himself was most nearly concerned. This eminent casuist *about a day before his death, desired his Chaplain Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution : and at his performing that office he pulled of his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head.*^r

This is a curious, and by no means an uninteresting question : and whatever we may think of Collier's prudence in using the ceremony of imposition of hands, we certainly cannot allege that he was guilty of any crime. It was unwise on the part of the government to prosecute him for such an act, and on the part of the Archbishops and Bishops to publish a Document with so much solemnity. The thing was magnified into a matter of importance by the proceed-

^r An Answer to the Animadversions on the Two Pamphlets lately published by Mr. Collier, &c. 4to. pp. 9, 10.

ings of the government and the Bishops. It can scarcely be supposed, that a clergyman in repeating the Absolution from the order "*For the Visitation of the Sick*," in a sick room, is restrained from placing his hands upon the head of the individual, if he be so disposed. All ceremonies must necessarily be performed with some attendant circumstances. The Absolution is to be repeated : but the Church does not prescribe the particular manner. As, however, it relates to an individual, and not to a congregation, it seems reasonable to suppose, that the placing the hand, on the head of the sick person, is a ceremony innocent in itself, though significant to the individual, and such as the Church could scarcely mean to prohibit, if the Clergy should feel disposed to adopt it, in their private ministrations.*

Collier published another pamphlet on the same subject in reply to a fresh attack. This was entitled "A Reply to the Absolution of a Penitent, according to the Directions of the Church of England, &c. &c." The same arguments are enforced with Collier's usual ability.†

* Ralph remarks, "though it should be acknowledged, that a more seditious use could scarce be made of the Priestly Office, there was more of passion than policy in the methods taken to punish these men for this misdemeanour : where there is no law there is no transgression : and yet the Grand Jury were prevailed upon by a remonstrance from the Bench, exhibited by Chief Justice Holt, to present the said clergymen, for having countenanced the treason by absolving the traitors." Vol. ii. 646.

† Evelyn says, April 19th, "Greater offence taken at the three ministers, who absolved Sir William Perkins and Friend at Tyburn. One of them (Snatt) was a son of my old schoolmaster. This produced much altercation as to the canonicalness of the action." Vol. iii. 350, 351. The circumstance is also alluded to by Calamy under the same date. Calamy's Life, vol. i. 382, 383.

Sir John Fenwick also was brought to trial, the same year, for conspiring against the government. There were, however, difficulties in his case, which might have led to his acquittal by a jury: and therefore he was proceeded against in Parliament by way of attainder, a practice not uncommon in those times. Nelson was induced, by Sir John's wife, to apply to Tennison to procure his support against the attainder; but the Archbishop replied, that, as he considered him guilty, he could not declare him innocent. All interposition, therefore, in his favour failed: and he was condemned and executed. The majority for the Bill in the Lords was only seven; so that the government might reasonably have spared his life; and it is evident, that a jury would not have found him guilty, in a case in which the penalty was death. He avowed himself a member of the Church of England: and he was permitted to seek the aid of any of the clergy, who had taken the Oaths: or any of the Bishops, who had opposed the Bill of Attainder against him. On his refusal, the names of three or four Nonjurors were mentioned to him; but these individuals declined to attend, on the ground, that the Oaths might be tendered to them, and that, on their non-compliance, they might stand convicted. This circumstance shews the distressing state of fear and apprehension, in which the Nonjuring Clergy were placed, and how ready the authorities were to lay hold of any thing, which might occur to their disadvantage.^u The Author of the Letter in the State Tracts says, they might as well have trusted the

^u State Tracts, vol. ii. 561.

honour of the government as live under its protection ; but surely the cases were very dissimilar.^w

White, the deprived Bp. of Peterborough, died in the year 1698, having lived in retirement since his deprivation. The circumstance is thus mentioned by Evelyn : " June 5. Dr. White, late Bishop of Peterborough, who had been deprived for not complying with government, was buried in St. Gregory's Churchyard or Vault, at St. Paul's. His hearse was accompanied by two Nonjuror Bishops, Dr. Turner of Ely, and Dr. Lloyd, with forty Nonjuror Clergymen, who could not stay the office of the burial, because the Dean of St. Paul's had appointed a conforming minister to read the office, at which all much wondered, there being nothing in that office which mentioned the present King."^x Certainly, the retirement from the grave was a singular circumstance, and contrary to their practice in many other cases, in which they attended at those services, which did not mention the name of the reigning sovereign.

The succession to the throne was a question of serious and anxious consideration during this reign. Having excluded one sovereign on account of his faith, the country decided that none but a Protestant should be permitted to reign. Anne, the second daughter of

^w The severity of the Government appears to have caused a reaction in favour of the Nonjurors. Whiston, speaking of Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, says : " I remember to have heard him once say, that after the Assassination Plot, A.D. 1696, the odium of it was so great, that not a Jacobite would have remained in the nation, had not the extreme rigour of the following Act of Parliament against those, who would not sign an association, kept up the spirit of opposition to the government ever afterward." Whiston's Memoirs, 132.

^x Evelyn, iii. 364, 365.

King James, was next in succession to King William, according to the settlement made at the Revolution: but the death of her son, the Duke of Gloucester, in the year 1700, filled the nation with alarm, and pointed out the necessity of taking some further step, in this very important matter, especially as there was no prospect of other issue from the Princess. To cut off the hopes, therefore, of the Jacobites, a new settlement was made. Besides James's son, respecting whose legitimacy there was no reason whatever to doubt, there were, *first*, the Duchess of Savoy, the daughter of Henrietta, the sister of Charles II., and *secondly*, several of the Palatine Family. But all these were Roman Catholics; and though some of them might have embraced Protestantism, in the hope of ascending the English throne, yet the Parliament were resolved not to offer them such a temptation. It was determined that all Roman Catholics should be excluded: and, therefore, the Princess Sophia of Brunswick, the granddaughter of James I. and the next Protestant heir, was made the source of the new line.

In this settlement, all parties acted with much craft and dissimulation, except the Nonjurors, who remained true to their principles, even though they might be erroneous. The question of the settlement was accomplished chiefly by the Tories, under the guidance of Harley.^y The Princess Anne, it was thought, would favour her brother's cause: so that the Jacobites and the Nonjurors looked forward, with satisfaction, to her accession. "For six years she had maintained a fair correspondence with her Father, full of assurances of duty and expressions of repent-

^y Hallam, iii. 246. Macpherson, ii. 187.

ance." She wrote, however, to ask him if he would allow her to succeed according to the Act of Settlement, in the event of William's death, urging that she should thereby serve her Father. James was displeased, and the proposal was not entertained.² Still the friends of the late King continued to look to the Princess. Even William was indifferent respecting the future, provided the crown was secured to him during his own life. Circumstances, which were unknown at the time, have since been brought to light by the production of documentary Papers. Thus, in 1697, in the negotiations for a Peace, William secretly entered into an arrangement in favour of James's son. "Lewis, unwilling to desert James, proposed, that the Prince of Wales should succeed to the crown after the death of William. The King with little hesitation agreed to this request. He even solemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the act of Settlement, and to declare by another, the Prince of Wales his successor in the throne. Those, who ascribe all the actions of William to public spirit, will find some difficulty in reconciling this transaction to their elevated opinion of his character. In one concession to France, he yielded all his professions to England; and, by an act of indiscretion, or through indifference, deserted the principles, to which he owed the throne. The deliverance of the nation, however, was not the sole object of this Prince. The projected peace was to secure the crown in his possession for his life. The successors provided by the Act of Settlement, he either despised or abhorred. Though James had displeased the nation, he had not injured William. The son had offended neither. The sup-

² Macpherson, ii. 121.

posed spuriousness of his birth, had been only held forth to amuse the vulgar.”^a

This project, however, was defeated by King James, who would not allow his son to be made a party to such an arrangement. Thus did James sacrifice the only prospect of the restoration of his family.^b Still from the general dislike of the nation to George I. it has been supposed, even by Mr. Hallam, that the Pretender might have obtained the throne, if he had embraced Protestantism.

We must now revert to the controversy arising from the deprivation of the Bishops, in which we left Dodwell engaged in the year 1692. It was not until the year 1695 that Dodwell published his *Defence of the Vindication*, in reply to Hody.^c In this work he contends that the oath of canonical obedience to the deprived Bishops was binding. This argument explains Dodwell's subsequent views, when, after Lloyd's death, Ken ceased to claim the submission of the Clergy; and it is quite consistent with his return to the established Church at that time. It is a most elaborate and able performance.^d

^a Macpherson, ii. 123-4.

^b Ibid. 125.

^c A Defence of the Vindication of the deprived Bishops. Wherein the case of Abiathar is particularly considered, and the invalidity of lay deprivations is further proved, from the doctrine received under the Old Testament, continued in the first ages of Christianity, and from our own fundamental laws. In a reply to Dr. Hody and another author. To which is annexed the doctrine of the Church of England, concerning the independency of the Clergy on the lay-power, as to those rights of theirs which are purely spiritual, reconciled with our oath of supremacy and the lay deprivations of the Popish Bishops in the beginning of the Reformation. By the author of the Vindication of the deprived Bishops. London. 4to. 1695.

^d See the Defence, &c. See also Dodwell's Life, for an abstract, 254, 267.

It will be seen from the title page of the preceding work, that a treatise on *The Independency of the Clergy of the Lay-power* was intended to accompany the volume. From some unknown cause this treatise was suppressed in 1695. The author of his Life states, that it was suppressed because it could not be answered.^e At all events, it was published as a separate work in 1697. It appears strange, that any interference should have been employed, to prevent the free and full discussion of a subject of so much interest. Dodwell enters fully into the question, which had been raised by Hody, relative to the deprivations at the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth: and, after pointing out the dissimilarity between the two cases, he admits that, if the recent deprivation had been synodical, even though unjust, they ought to have submitted. Kettlewell, on the other hand, denied this position, contending that it would be a sin to submit to such deprivations.^f The difference between these two eminent men was very material. In Dodwell's case, his principle led him only to continue the separation during the lives of the deprived Bishops: while Kettlewell's went to perpetuate it by new consecrations. This point, however, will necessarily come under our notice in another chapter.

On Nov. 2nd, in the year 1700, Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely, died in very straitened circumstances. So that now three only of the deprived Prelates, Lloyd, Ken, and Frampton, survived. Bp. Nicolson, writing to the Earl of Thanet, says: "My Lord, the deprived Bishop of Ely is (to my knowledge) in very needy circumstances: having a large

^e Dodwell's Life, 268.

^f Kettlewell's Life, 126.

family, and no support out of the common bank of charity : but if your Lordship thinks fit to have Mr. Carlton's sum thrown together into the public stock, your commands will be punctually observed."^g This letter is dated 1706, consequently there must be an error in the date or the name, as Turner died in 1700. But in either case the circumstance shews the sad state in which the deprived Bishops were placed, and how much they suffered for conscience sake. Probably none of their detractors ever suffered for conscience. He had lived in retirement since his deprivation : and was buried in the chancel of the church of Therfield, Herts, of which place he had formerly been rector. One word only was inscribed on the stone by which his mortal remains were covered, *EXPERGISCAR!* He was a man of considerable eminence and of great sincerity.

King James died on the sixth of September 1701, at St. Germain's, after which the King of France recognized James's son as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This led to certain Parliamentary enactments against him under the designation of the Pretender, the name by which he is usually known in English history. Thus an Act was passed for securing the succession, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales. All official persons, including ecclesiastics, were required to take an Oath of Abjuration before the 1st of August 1702, the penalty of refusal being the forfeiture of their posts or preferments.^h Thomas Turner, brother of the deprived Bishop of Ely, who complied at the Revolution, stumbled at the Abjuration Oath. He went, on

^g Nicolson's Epistolary Correspondence, i. 305.

^h Life of Queen Anne, i. 64.

the passing of the Abjuration Act, from London to Oxford, with the intention of not taking the Oath. He did not, however, resign his preferments: nor was he called upon to take the Oath: so that he held all his places until his death in 1714. But in most cases the Oath was required to be taken, and especially in those which were suspected. It was an impolitic act, since it grieved the consciences of many good men, and really did nothing towards strengthening the government. Not a few of the Nonjurors would have complied, after King James's death, but for this Oath of Abjuration. They considered themselves released from their Oath to King James by his death: and they would have submitted to the government. But they looked upon the Oath of Abjuration of the rights of the Pretender as so unnecessary, that they could not take it: and even some, who had formerly complied, now became Nonjurors. Whiston tells us: "Mr. Billers and Mr. Baker, who loved their religion and their country as well as any jurors whomsoever, but having once taken an oath to King James, could not satisfy their consciences in breaking it, while he lived, for any consideration whatsoever. I well remember that when King James died, which was in 1701, they began to deliberate about taking the Oath, and coming into the government, till the unhappy Abjuration Oath, which was made the same year, had such clauses as stopped all their farther deliberations."ⁱ

ⁱ Whiston's Memoirs, p. 32. Mr. Hallam very justly remarks of this new Oath: "Of all sophistry that weakens moral obligation, that is the most pardonable which men employ to escape from this species of tyranny. The state may reasonably make an entire and heartfelt attachment to its authority the condition of civil trust: but nothing more than a promise of peaceable obedience

Ken too was deeply distressed at this new Oath. Writing to his friend Harbin, he says: "I am troubled to see the nation likely to be involved in new *universal oaths*, but hope they will be imposed on none but those who were employed or promoted in Church and State."^k The Oath made William *rightful* King, at which many were staggered, who were willing to render him allegiance, and who would not endeavour to disturb his government. It was almost the last thing that William did. Indeed the Bill was signed by Commission, as the King was too ill to attend in Parliament for that purpose. King William died on the 8th of March 1701-2.

From the various statements of the preceding pages, it will be seen that King William was not influenced, as some of his panegyrists have insinuated, only by a desire to promote the civil and religious liberties of the people of England. He sought his own interest, at all events, as well as that of the public. Since his death, many things have transpired, which prove that he was determined, if possible, to ascend the English throne, though the Church and the country might have been saved by the establishment of a regency in the person of the Prince of Orange.¹ Undoubtedly a signal deliverance was wrought for the country in 1688: and the present generation have

can justly be exacted from those who ask only to obey in peace." iii. 265. Baker wrote *Socius Ejectus* on his books. See *Life*, 34.

^k Bowles's *Ken*, i. 228.

¹ Mr. Hallam, speaking of the opinions of the actors in the Revolution, admits the risk which was incurred. "Notwithstanding the splendid success of the opposite counsels, it would be judging too servilely by the event, not to admit that they were tremendously hazardous." iii. 111.

reason to be thankful for the interposition of King William : but our gratitude must not make us blind to his errors, or lead us to represent him as free from selfish and sinister motives. That all his proceedings were overruled, for the welfare of the nation, we have reason to be abundantly thankful : still the success must not be attributed to William's intentions, or to his disinterested conduct ; for the preceding pages shew, that he did not, on all occasions, adhere to rigid principles of virtue. A concurrence of circumstances, as I have shewn, favoured his enterprise : but had he fairly and honestly told the people of England, in his First Declaration, that he was coming to seat himself upon the throne of his father-in-law, much as they were opposed to King James's measures, and great as were their fears of the introduction of popery, they would not have accepted deliverance on such terms. While, then, we have reason to be grateful, that the events of the Revolution were so graciously overruled, we have also much cause for gratitude to Almighty God, that the various motives of many of the actors were not so marked, by the Divine displeasure, as to involve the nation in trouble and confusion.^m

^m King William's views and motives, in coming into England, have been considered in a former chapter : but I wish to add, in reference to his Declaration respecting the Prince of Wales, the following passages from Mr. Hallam. "It is the only part of the Declaration that is false." And again : "It cannot be said without absurdity, that James was guilty of any offence in becoming the father of this child : yet it was evidently that which rendered his other offences inextinguishable." Hallam, iii. 112, 113.



CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1701—1711.

ANNE'S ACCESSION.—STATE OF PARTIES.—DEATH OF KIDDER.—
DODWELL'S CASE IN VIEW.—CONTROVERSY.—DODWELL'S
PARÆNESIS.—HIS FURTHER PROSPECT, &c.—ITS ARGUMENTS.
—DEATH OF BISHOP FRAMPTON.—DEATH OF BISHOP LLOYD.
—APPLICATIONS TO KEN.—HIS REPLY.—WISHES THE SCHISM
CLOSED.—DODWELL, NELSON, AND BROOKSBY, RETURN TO
THE NATIONAL CHURCH.—HICKES'S VIEWS.—LETTERS OF
NELSON AND BROOKSBY.—DODWELL'S CASE IN FACT.—AR-
GUMENTS.—DODWELL'S DEATH.—REPLIES TO DODWELL.



ANNE succeeded King William according to the Act of Settlement, by which the crown was secured to her, as the next Protestant heir of the family of King James. When the New Parliament was summoned, it was found, that the majority were Tories : consequently the Whigs were displaced from office, their opponents succeeding in their room.^a At this period there were four parties in the state, all possessing more or less influence : the Tories, the Whigs, the Roman Catholics, and the Nonjurors. The Tories were the friends of the Church, while the Whigs were more inclined towards the Dissenters. The Whigs were avowed friends to the Protestant succession : but they did not view the Church of England

^a Macpherson.

with a favourable aspect. Thus they endeavoured to persuade King William, that his success was owing to their support, and that the Tories were his enemies. It is remarked, by a writer who understood the state of parties, that King William found the Tories the better subjects, as the Whigs wished to restrain the royal prerogative in various instances, which was by no means agreeable to his Majesty. Burnet places this circumstance to the credit of the Whigs, who, he says, were jealous of the liberties of the country. "But," says the writer to whom I have alluded, "notwithstanding the opinion of this Right Reverend Father of the Church, I am apt to think from the known conduct of the Whigs, that they were less afraid of arbitrary power, than of their being themselves out of all power: for we have seen them, as well as the Tories, advocates for, and stretching the prerogative while they had the helm of government in their hands, though when out of power, as violent for restraining it, and extending the liberties of the people, at the expence of the rights of the crown."^b They consented to set aside Episcopacy in Scotland, though, as will be shewn in another chapter, it might have been retained with the approval of the country. They therefore viewed the Church with suspicion. Exceptions there were: but still the charge, with respect to the majority, is correct. Those Whigs, who were attached to the Church, were Whigs in politics only, and not in Ecclesiastical matters, on which they agreed with the Tories. Of this class was Swift, during the early portion of his political career—a Whig in Politics, but on all Ecclesiastical subjects standing forth as the unflinching

^b Life of the Duke of Ormonde, 1747. p. 118.

advocate of the Church. Harley's views were at one time of the same character: as were also those of many other distinguished men of the period.

The Tories also were divided into two sections—one secretly devoted to the exiled family, and consequently anxious for their restoration, whenever it could be accomplished, the other strongly attached to the Protestant succession. During this period of strong party feeling, it was usual to charge the whole body of the Tories with a secret attachment to the Pretender: and the same charge is still alleged by some modern writers.

While, however, it is certain that a section of the Tories favoured the cause of the exiled line, it is equally certain, that many of the leading Whigs held a secret correspondence with the Pretender. Had they been able to have secured the ascendancy of their party, they would have been ready to have placed the Pretender on the throne, though some may have acted from no other motive than a wish to embarrass the government. It is clear, therefore, that, if some of the Tories wished to restore the Pretender, many of the Whigs were by no means anxious, that his family should become extinct. His name was a very convenient pretence to the Whigs, whenever they wished to excite the popular feeling against their opponents. If then it were criminal in the Tory section to favour the Pretender, it was equally criminal in the Whigs, no matter from what motives, to hold a secret correspondence with him, and thereby endanger that Protestant succession, respecting which they were always declaiming in their speeches in Parliament, and in their addresses to the people. Under such circumstances, it was not strange that Swift, Harley, and other Whigs, who were the warm

supporters of the Church of England, should unite, in the latter part of this reign, with the Tories. The administration of the last four years indeed was composed of the two parties united: but whatever may have been the errors of the Tories during the reign of Queen Anne, nothing could have been more inconsistent and selfish than the conduct of the Whigs.

A very acute observer remarks, "What the wishes of many of the Tories were, was little attempted to be concealed: and that some of the Whigs were not acting on a fixed principle of attachment to the Protestant succession, is now clear from their correspondence with the Court of St. Germain's in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, especially the latter."^c In short, the Whigs were ready to sacrifice any thing and every thing to place: and could they have seen it their interest to restore the family of King James, they would not have hesitated for a moment. They had differences with King William at an early period respecting the succession to the throne. Men appeared to have changed. The Tories, who once wished to preserve the rights of James's family, were now opposed to their pretensions: while the Whigs interposed to prevent their hopes from being extinguished. Thus it was remarked, "The Whigs were quite as troublesome to King William as the Tories."^d

Kidder, the successor of Ken, was killed in his bed with his wife, by the falling of a stack of chimneys, in the palace at Wells, on the night of the great storm the 26th and 27th November 1703. On the Queen's accession an offer was made to restore Ken

^c Rose's Observations on Fox's History, Int. xxx.

^d Life of Bolingbroke, p. 70.

to his diocese, in which case Kidder would have been removed to another see. He declined, however, on the ground of age and health, and probably because he was not satisfied about the Oaths. This latter supposition, indeed, appears more than probable; for it is stated that Ken refused on taking a new exception to the Oath of Abjuration. On Kidder's death he persuaded Hooper to accept it. In an original letter published by Mr. Bowles, Ken says: "I hearing yt ye Bishop of St. Asaph was offered Bath and Wells, and that on my account he refused it, wrott to give my assent to it. I did it in regard to ye diocese, yt they might not have a latitudinarian traditor imposed on them, who would betray the baptismal faith."^e On the 6th of December 1703, he thus writes to Hooper: "I am informed yt you have had an offer of Bath and Wells, and y^t you refused it, which I take very kindly, because I know you did it on my account: but since I am well assured y^t ye diocese cannot be happy to y^t degree in any other hands than in your owne, I desire you to accept of it. I told you long agoe at Bath how willing I was to surrender my canonical claim to a worthy person, but to none more willingly than to yourselfe." On the 20th of December Ken writes to congratulate Hooper on his acceptance of the see. Some of the Nonjurors were displeased at Ken's resignation: and he alludes to them in this letter. "I could easily foresee," says he, "y^t by my concerne for you I sh^d incurre y^e displeasure of some of my brethren, but this is not y^e first instance in w^{ch} I have dissented from them, and never had cause to repent of it." When the Queen proposed the see to Hooper, he

^e Bowles's Ken, ii. 242.

suggested Ken's restoration. Her Majesty was pleased at the idea, and ordered Hooper to make the offer. Ken thanked her Majesty, but was unwilling to return again to the business of the world.^d In a letter to Lloyd of April 1st, 1704, he says, "I perceive by you're two last that your Lordship is very shy of owning your approbation of my action." He alludes to his resignation, of which Lloyd did not approve. He says that he foresaw the censures that were bestowed upon him: and he assures Lloyd, "I never did any thing in my life more to my satisfaction than my seceding."^e

For a few years after the death of King William

^d Bowles's Ken, ii. 249—253, 256.

^e Ibid. 263. D'Oyley's Sancroft, i. 448. Ken thus gave utterance to his feelings in verse:

But that which most of all my eye-lids drain'd,
My lambs, my sheep, were by their wanderings baned:
They broke from Catholic, and hallow'd bounds,
And for the wholesome chose th' impoison'd grounds,
Contracting latitudinarian taint,
In faith, in morals, suffering no restraint.

In allusion to the answer to his prayers, he says:

But I adore benignity Divine,
Who did to hear my worthless cares incline,
And while I mourn'd for the tremendous stroke,
Which freed my flock from uncanonic yoke,
Heaven, my Lord, supereffluently kind,
In you sent a successor to my mind.

Elsewhere he alludes to the same subject:

Forc'd from my flock I daily saw, with tears,
A stranger's ravage two sabbatic years:
But I forbear to tell the dreadful stroke,
Which freed my sheep from their Erastian yoke.

By the two sabbatic years, Ken alludes to the period, fourteen years, of Kidder's occupancy of the see. Biog. Brit. Art. Ken.

the Nonjurors proceeded very quietly in their course; but at length circumstances arose, which led to divisions in their little body. Dodwell, who did not wish to continue the schism after the death of the deprived Bishops, saw that the time might soon arrive, when, according to his principles, it would be a duty to return to the National Church, and close the breach. To give time and opportunity to consider the subject, he published in 1705 his "*Case in View considered*." ^f At this time Lloyd, Ken, and Frampton alone survived of the deprived Bishops. Neither Ken nor Frampton were likely to challenge the obedience of the Nonjurors: and, therefore, the question which Dodwell wished to discuss must be settled at the death of Lloyd. The title fully explains the writer's object. His view was, that in case the deprived Bishops should leave their sees vacant by death or resignation, the Nonjurors would not be under any obligation to continue the separation. He very wisely suggested, that it would be better to consider the case beforehand, than leave it to be discussed for the first time when, in his opinion, it would be necessary to act. At this time he viewed the complying Bishops as guilty of schism in setting up altar against altar; but, on the death of the deprived prelates, or their resignation, he considered that the possessors of the sees would be no longer schismatics, and that the Clergy might yield them obedience. He thus commences his *Case in View*:

^f A Case in View considered: in a Discourse proving that (in case our present invalidly deprived Fathers shall leave all their Sees vacant, either by Death or Resignation) we shall not then be obliged to keep up our Separation from those Bishops who are as yet involved in the Guilt of the present unhappy Schism. By Henry Dodwell, M.A. London, 8vo. 1705.

“ Our little flock (however sorry for the unhappy occasion) are competently well agreed in our practice, in relation to our present schism. We are agreed in asserting the spiritual rights of our surviving fathers, who are still pleased to claim them, which no lay deprivations can take from them. We agreed in abstaining from the communion, not only of the rival Bishops themselves, who are the principal schismatics ; but of all others also, who have made themselves accessory to the schism by any sacred communion with those rivals. Nor can we think ourselves at liberty from the duty of asserting those rights till they, to whom we owe that duty, shall think fit to discharge us from it by some explicate or, at least, implicate, renunciation of their title to them. But there is a case in view wherein we may, perhaps, not prove so unanimous, unless we provide for it before it come to pass. That is on a supposition that all our present survivors’ sees were fairly vacated by death or renunciation. This being supposed, the inquiry will be, whether such vacancies of either kind will suffice to put an end to the schism ? Or whether we shall still be under any obligation, even in that case, to keep up our opposite assemblies ? And now is the fittest season for examining it, whilst our brethren are most indifferent to follow, what upon examination, is found true. Before they shall have declared their opinions, before they are divided into parties, before any ferment has risen, which is a natural consequence of such subdivision into parties, which may make them less equal judges of reasons produced for a cause opposed by them.”^d

The above is Dodwell’s first paragraph ; and it

^d Dodwell’s Case in View, pp. 1, 2, 3.

contains a most clear exposition of the state of the question. He next presses this proposition, that sentence is to be given in favour of the actual possessors of sees, when there is no dispossessed rival, who can present a better title.^e The point is pursued at considerable length: and then the author advances another position, that when there is only one Bishop in a district, a separation can no more be justified than it could have been before altar was erected against altar.^f After discussing this position, he argues that the nullity of schismatical consecrations and ordinations ceases when there are no rivals, and that orders then become valid, though they were not so originally while the rival Bishops survived. He supposes, that some of the Nonjurors might consider new consecrations necessary, before the complying Bishops, who were regarded as schismatics, could receive the powers, which in their opinion they had not while the schism existed. His own opinion was different. He says, "I see no reason why the nullity may not cease together with the schism: on the contrary, it ought to do so, if the nullity was wholly grounded on the schism: if their being *nulli* be a consequence of their being *secundi*."^g

From this question, he proceeds to another, that of doctrine. He is of opinion, that their attachment to the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance will not oblige them to keep up the separation. This is a point of great importance in the controversy: and most persons must wish to see the workings of such a mind as Dodwell's on such a subject. He thus argues the question, after alluding to the separations

^e Case in View, p. 4.

^f Ibid. p. 21.

^g Ibid. p. 27, 28.

in the early Church from heretical Bishops, whose sees were never regarded as full by the orthodox.

“This some of our beloved brethren might take to be the case in relation to the doctrines disputed between us and the prevailing separation. But lovers of peace will find cause to bless God, that this is not so really the case, as less attentive persons may imagine. Our truly catholic doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance are still maintained by many of our late fathers and brethren, notwithstanding their new erected altars. But by none more openly and avowedly than the present excellent metropolitan of York.”^h

Having shewn, that the doctrines were still held by the Church of England, he proceeds to shew, that they were in greater danger from the practice of occasional communion, and that the evil would be best avoided by their re-union, when the sees of the deprived Bishops were actually vacant. Dodwell feared that the Dissenters, by being admitted to occasional communion, might vote on Church matters as Churchmen, and then declare, that certain doctrines were not those of the Church of England: and that such a proceeding might be deemed an act of the Church herself.ⁱ

He discusses also another doctrine, the independency of the Church on the State. This he says was so generally admitted by their divided brethren, that they need not continue the separation on that account. The doctrine was involved in their not acknowledging the validity of the lay-deprivations. But he considers, that the doctrine was received by the English Church, as established by law: and that many of

^h Case in View, &c. p. 47.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 53.

the opponents of the Nonjurors used other plausible arguments against them, so as to evade the recognition of the right of the civil magistrate to deprive.^k

On such grounds, which are stated at great length and enforced with much learning and argument, Dodwell urges the re-union with the Bishops in possession, whenever the sees of the deprived Prelates should be vacant by death or resignation. Such is the aim of the "*Case in View*," &c. the title of which most distinctly explains the character of the work.

In the previous year, 1704, he published in Latin his "*Parænesis to Foreigners*," concerning the English Schism. This work charges the schism on the complying Bishops; but still there was nothing inconsistent between his views at this period, and those which are put forth in his "*Case in View*" and his subsequent publications. He always charged the schism on the Bishops, who complied, though, when the deprived Prelates were removed by death, he thought that the breach should be healed by a sub-

^k *Case in View*, pp. 62, 63. Many severe reflections were cast upon the Nonjurors, as if they were determined to overturn the government. The great majority, however, had no such desire. They merely wished to live quietly under the government. The case is well put in the following extract: "If it be said that this negative contains something positive, and implies malice and enmity against the government, I answer, this is their construction, not ours: why may it not imply as well tenderness of mind and conscience towards God? Or why may it not imply a disability to wind ourselves out of our former principles? Charity would think one of these. 'Tis hard that they will judge of our thoughts, but 'tis harder yet to fasten an arbitrary sense of them, and then to punish that sense of their own imposing, which is to punish not our thoughts, but their own, nay 'tis to punish us for their thoughts." *The Present State of Jacobinism in England. A Second Part in Answer to the First*, 4to. London, 1702, p. 10.

mission to the Bishops in possession. The "*Parænesis*" contained a Summary of the views, which he had advanced and defended in his previous publications. It was intended for foreigners, and on that account was composed in Latin. He argues in this work that the deprived Bishops were not the cause of the breach : and that the civil power could not deprive them of their authority in the Church. He asserts, as he continues to do in his subsequent works, the independency of the Church on the civil magistrate, recommending both Protestants and Romanists abroad to do the same. One of the positions in the "*Parænesis*" is so generally applicable to all times and circumstances, that it can never be too repeatedly put forward. It is this : *that we* have as great a certainty, if not a greater, of the settlement of Bishops to govern Churches, as of the Canon of Scripture itself—namely, the universal tradition of the Church, even in the second century.¹ It would be well, if those persons who pretend, that episcopacy is not of primitive institution, would examine the evidence for the authenticity of Scripture, and then judge whether it is in any way superior to that, which may be adduced in favour of Bishops as governors of the Church.

No one was more strenuous in defending the rights of the deprived Bishops : yet no one was more anxious to heal the breach than Dodwell. He was consistent with himself throughout the entire controversy : and had all the Nonjurors been men of a similar spirit, the schism would have been closed, when Dodwell and Nelson entered into communion with the Bishops

¹ Dodwell's Life, 277, 300.

in possession of the Sees. In the year 1707, the Abjuration Act was ordered by Parliament to be enforced in the case of all suspected persons : and this proceeding tended to keep back some persons, who otherwise might have returned to the national communion.

I have before alluded to Kettlewell's opinions. Though he differed from Dodwell, as has been shewn, yet there is reason to believe, that had he lived until the death of Lloyd, he would have acted with Nelson and Brokesby. The writer of the Life of Kettlewell thus speaks of Dodwell's "*Case in View*:" "When he had lived to see all (speaking of the deprived Bishops) except one or two of them go before him into eternity, he began thereupon to reconsider what had been written by him so early after the Revolution : and being desirous that this rupture might be closed, and an end put to this most unhappy schism, that he might dye in peace, he wrote and published his *Case in View*, to shew that in case these his invalidly deprived Fathers should, either by death or resignation, leave all their sees vacant, none would be then longer obliged to keep up their separation from those Bishops, who, according to him, were as yet involved in the guilt of schism."ⁿ

In the year 1707, two years after the publication of the *Case in View*, Dodwell put forth another work on the same subject, entitled "A Further Prospect of the Case in View, in answer to some new objections, not there considered." Certain objections were raised against a return to the established communion, which were not considered in the *Case in View*. These objections are stated and met in *The Further Prospect*. The chief of them refer to the Prayers for the exist-

ⁿ Life of Kettlewell, 127, 128.

ing Sovereign, which the Nonjurors could not use : and Dodwell undertakes to shew, that they need not be a bar to the healing of the schism. He contends, therefore, that they could not oblige the Bishops in possession to make reparation for what they had done, when they should have no Bishops of their own ; for in such a case they would be only private communicants, “ who cannot pretend to any right to give laws of communion, but must be obliged to receive them, from those who have the power of the sacraments, if we will have any communion at all.”^o From this passage it is clear, that Dodwell did not admit the validity of the consecrations of Hickes and Wagstaffe ; and probably he did not know, that any thing of the kind had taken place. We shall see presently that he disavowed all such consecrations : and, therefore, after Lloyd’s death, be considered that, as a party, they had no Bishops.

He then comes to the question of the Prayers, and argues, that all Prayers to which they cannot assent, do not oblige them to separate,—not even false or immoral Prayers, when the Church is not blameable for them. *The Further Prospect* was published as a letter : and he thus addressed the party to whom he writes, on the point in question : “ I proceed now to your other objection, which, I confess, I never looked on as sufficient to justify a separation of communion. It relates to the Prayers in the public offices to which we cannot heartily say Amen.”^p Dodwell meets the objection by another case, that of Titus Oates. A Plot was pretended to be revealed by Oates, and a

^o A Further Prospect of the Case in View, in Answer to some New Objections not there Considered. 8vo. London 1707, p. 10.

^p Ibid. p. 19.

Form of Prayer was set forth by the Crown ; though many persons did not believe in the existence of the plot. They knew indeed the contrary. He, therefore, says : “ Yet the offices then imposed generally supposed the truth of it. And the Prayers then offered were for things not desirable. But upon that supposition must we, therefore, even then have been obliged to separate from those Prayers, and the whole communion wherein they were used, when we were satisfied that the witnesses did not deserve credit, that their narratives were otherwise unlikely and inconsistent, and that the petitions desired, pursuantly to the belief of them, were therefore needless and unreasonable, as grounded on false suggestions ? Could we have been excuseable if we had done so ?”^a Dodwell also remarks : “ In the reign of James II. we used that petition in the Litany, that God would keep and strengthen him in the true worship. And we were upbraided for it by the Papists, pretending, that we, doing so, owned his Popery, then professed by him to be the true worshipping of God : and that we prayed God to keep and strengthen him in it. And undoubtedly this petition was designed for a Prince whose worship the Church believed true : such as the Prince was when the Litany was composed : and ought to have been altered when the case was altered. Ought we, therefore, even then, to have begun our separation from the public assemblies ? No ! certainly. We could not have done it without very great injustice. It was very certain that none of our Church’s true communion could believe these expressions true in the sense in which our adversaries are pleased to upbraid us with them.”^r He then argues, that private

^a Further Prospect, &c. pp. 19, 20.

^r Ibid. pp. 23, 24.

communicants cannot make changes : that they cannot join in prayers which suppose an approbation of an opposite faith : “ much less for petitions for keeping and strengthening a soul in a belief which themselves think destructive of his salvation :” but that in the present case no justification could be pleaded. He concluded, that their presence at prayers, which they could not approve, would not imply that they were of the same mind.^s He also thought that they might shew their dissent by not answering Amen to the petitions in question.

The whole argument in the “ *Further Prospect of the Case in View*” is most elaborately managed. Three Bishops now survived, Frampton, Lloyd, and Ken. The next year the number was reduced to two, as Frampton died in 1708, at the age of eighty-six, and was buried privately at Standish in Gloucestershire. Frampton never had a desire to continue the separation. He could not take the Oath of Allegiance, and was prepared to suffer the consequences : but beyond this he did not wish to proceed. As long as he was able, he attended the service of the parish church in which he resided. He frequently catechized the children in the afternoon, and expounded the sermon, which had been preached by the parochial clergyman.^x

On the *first* of January 1709, or 1710 according to our present reckoning, Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich, also died at Hammersmith : so that now Ken only survived of all those prelates, who, at the Revolution, had refused to take the Oath to William and Mary. Dodwell’s *Case in View* was now become

^s Further Prospect, &c. 111.

^x Marshall’s Defence, 165, 166. Calamy’s Own Times, ii. 119.

the Case in Fact: for Ken actually resigned his pretensions and claims to Hooper, who succeeded Kidder in the diocese of Bath and Wells. Dodwell and others applied to Ken to know if he challenged their subjection: who replied, that he did not, and who further expressed his wish, that the breach might now be closed by their union with the Bishops in possession of the sees. The particulars connected with the return of Dodwell, Nelson, Brokesby, and others to the National Church, are so full of interest, that they demand our special notice. Dodwell writes to a friend, under the date of January 11th, 1709-10, Lloyd having died only ten days before, concerning the schism. The letter is as follows:

“ I have received yours, and have already written to my Lord of Bath and Wells, as the only survivor of the invalidly deprived Bishops, and as thereby having it in his power now to free not only his private diocese, but the whole National Church, from the schism introduced by filling the sees, which were no otherwise empty than by the invalid deprivations. This I take to be sufficient upon our principles, who cannot justify our separate communion on any other account than that of the schism, provided there be no other, whom we do not yet know of, who does claim, and can prove a better title to some one episcopal altar of our National Church by succession to some of our deceased fathers, than the present incumbents.

“ This I had no mind to signify to Mr. K— before others in his shop, when he would have me declare myself satisfied, that the schism would end with the life of my Lord of Norwich. I had no mind then to intimate the case of clandestine consecrations by our

deceased Fathers, before persons who were not concerned for the satisfaction of their own consciences: but might thence easily take occasion to represent my case as the same with theirs: that the *Case in View* would immediately fall out upon the decease of my Lord of Norwich.

“ But if my Lord of Bath and Wells declare that he will not so far insist on his right, as to justify our separate communions upon his account: we must then enquire, whether any claim appear derived from his deceased brethren, for keeping any one see full, which had been otherwise vacant by their death: and what evidence appears for supporting that claim: and whether that evidence be satisfactory? And the information concerning these facts must be expected from our friends in London. But it will, I believe, be most prudent not to enquire into secrets, the discovery of which may be dangerous to the persons concerned in them. The persons concerned in a good right so derived, may, and that commendably, in prospect of the peace which may follow from their concealment of what they have to say upon that argument, wave their right, how good soever otherwise. And we have reason to presume it is their design to do so, if they do not claim their right at this proper time of claiming it, and publish their evidences for the satisfaction of the ecclesiastical subjects. And we may securely practice as if they had no right at all, as presuming that they have waved it. Nor can there be any schism without a known altar, against which an opposite altar may be erected. It will not therefore be sufficient to prove them validly consecrated Bishops, unless they were also put in possession of some particular Church, by the same

provincial Synod, by which they were consecrated. Which I am apt to think was a thing not foreseen, if there were any such clandestine consecrations.

“The other arguments, distinct from this of the schism, cannot, I think, be justifiable upon catholick principles. Nor can we therefore second our brethren who will continue the separation upon them. The adjusting these things will require some time before we can be resolved what to do. And the respite will be convenient for the unanimity even of those who act upon the same principles.

“Thus you have my thoughts, in short, concerning this whole matter. It concerns us all to join our prayers, that our own concord be broken as little as is possible, by our reconciliation into one communion with our adversaries.”^y

This is a most interesting and important document, as expressive of Dodwell's views on the question of the continuance of the separation. It is clear too that Dodwell was uncertain about the new consecrations. He had evidently heard a rumour of such a thing, but he had no positive knowledge of the fact. He writes from Shottesbrooke again nearly two months later, under the date of March 2nd, to another friend. At this time he had received Ken's answer.

“Since the decease of my Lord of Norwich, I have written to the excellent Bishop Ken, as the last survivor of the invalidly deprived Bishops, and have received his answer: as I have also seen another answer to another person, who consulted him on the same occasion. Both are very full in owning his not insisting on his just right.

^y Marshall's Defence of our Constitution in Church and State, &c. Appendix No. III.

“ By these therefore and other informations, we are here fully satisfied, that there is not now any longer any altar in our National Church opposite to another altar of the same Church, that can justify the continuance of our separation. Accordingly our two families here were at church on February the 26th, the first Sunday in Lent.

“ But there are several, who still scruple the prayers. Endeavours are however using, that this difference of practice may make as little animosities in our flock as may be : whose endeavours will deserve the prayers of all who desire the good as well as the peace of this afflicted Church.”^z

The other letter from Ken, to which Dodwell alludes, was undoubtedly one which was sent to Nelson. Thus, writing to a friend on the same subject, under date of February 21st, 1709-10, Nelson says :

“ In order to satisfy your inquiry, I can acquaint you, that I have received a letter from Bishop Ken, who assures me, ‘ that he was always against that practice which he foresaw would perpetuate the schism, and declared against it, and that he had acted accordingly, and would not have it laid at his door, having made a recess (as he says) for a much more worthy person : and he apprehends it was always the judgment of his brethren, that the death of the canonical Bishops would render the invaders canonical, in regard the schism is not to last always.’ Afterwards his Lordship adds this : ‘ I presume Mr. Dodwell, and others with him, go to church, though I myself do not, being a public person : but to communicate with my successor in that part of the office which is unexceptionable, I should make no difficulty.’

^z Marshall, App. No. IV.

“This letter I communicated to Mr. Dodwell when in town, which he thought clear enough for closing the schism, and I suppose in a short time he may have one to the same purpose.”^a

On the 5th of March, Brokesby writes to a gentleman on the same subject for Dodwell, whose weak sight at that time prevented him from writing himself. He cites Ken’s answer to Dodwell, the same in substance as that to Nelson. It was as follows :

“In that you are pleased to ask me, whether I insist on my episcopal claim? my answer is, that I do not: and that I have no reason to insist on it, in regard that I made cession to my present most worthy successor: who came into the fold with my free consent and approbation. As for any clandestine claim, my judgment was always against it: and I have nothing to do with it, foreseeing that it would perpetuate a schism, which I found very afflicting to good people scattered in the country, where they could have no divine offices performed.”

Brokesby adds :

“We are here satisfied the schism is at an end, when there is no altar against altar, nor any other Bishops but Suffragans to require our subjection. And therefore we go all to church.”^b

In Hickes’s *Constitution of the Catholic Church*, a work not published until the year 1716, as will be

^a Marshall, App. No. V.

^b Ibid. App. No. VI. It seems that the Archbishop of York was instrumental in bringing back Nelson. On the 27th of January 1709, the Archbishop records, in his Diary, a notice to this effect, that Nelson was considering the subject: and on the 15th of February he records the fact itself. Nelson received the Sacrament from the hands of the Archbishop on Easter Day following. Life of Archbishop Sharpe, ii. 31, 32, 33.

noticed in the proper place, there is a letter "written for the use of a gentleman who lived in the communion of the faithful remnant of the Church of England, till the death of the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. William Lloyd, Lord Bishop of Norwich : but shortly after his death left it, and joined himself to the other opposite communion of the Church of England, before this letter could be finished." The gentleman in question was Nelson, who applied to Hickes on the subject. The publisher speaks as one of the party, and therefore was probably Brett. He says that after the death of Lloyd "another question was started among us." This was, "whether the schism did not end, and the schismatical Bishops become catholic, by the death or cession of all the deprived Bishops." Dodwell held this view : but the publisher of Hickes's papers affirms, that the principle was repugnant to reason and the practice of the primitive Church, and "contrary to his former writings," alluding for a proof to "The Conference between Gerontius and Junius." Hickes, it seems, was ill at the time, yet he desired Nelson to wait till he could draw up a paper. Nelson replied, that he would only wait till Easter, the Bishop of Norwich dying on the 30th of January. Hickes was unable to write, and Nelson went to his parish church. The former proceeded with his letter : but before it was completed the latter died. The publisher labours to weaken the force of Nelson's example, remarking, that "Mr. Nelson's practice was founded upon Mr. Dodwell's reasons, and if they are not good, he was certainly in the wrong." In the letter itself, which was circulated in MS. after Nelson's death, Hickes enters largely upon the questions discussed by Dodwell, and especially on the argument derived from Ken's resignation. He states,

that Ken had expressed his approval of the consecration of himself and Wagstaffe, though it would seem from the Bishop's letters that Hickes was mistaken. He calls Ken's wish to resign *a strange humour*, alleging, that the reason respecting the healing of the schism, "if good, should have obliged him to have resigned at first, and not to have kept his diocese twelve years or more in schism."^a The letter was seen by Dodwell, who commented upon it in another letter, which is given by Marshall. Hickes had thrown out a notion respecting the continuance, in cases of necessity, of the succession by Presbyters: and Dodwell argues that such a thing would be impossible. He also repeats in this letter, that Ken was altogether against continuing the separation, and that the Irish prelates were of the same mind.^b

Dodwell was resident in the diocese of Sarum, of which Burnet was Bishop, than whom no man could have been more obnoxious to the Nonjurors: yet this did not prevent him from carrying out his principles. The step, however, was a cause for animadversion: and he thus defends his practice:

"I have seen a letter of yours to a third person, the last paragraph whereof is spent in censure on me for returning to the communion of our old Fathers and brethren; especially for returning so soon, and that in the diocese of a Bishop so justly exceptionable as ours is, above the rest of his brethren.

"You say you always proposed waiting to the end of this session of Parliament. You did so. But I did not think myself at liberty to stay out of the true episcopal communion, when I could unite with it

^a Constitution of the Catholic Church. 8vo. 1716. P. 227.

^b Marshall's Defence, App. No. VII.

consistently on Catholic principles. Nor was I satisfied of continuing in our late communion since the death of my Lord of Norwich, and an assurance from my Lord of Bath and Wells, under his own hand, that he does not insist on his own right, as the last survivor of the deprived Bishops. This satisfied me that Dr. Hooper is no schismatic, and that no other Bishop of England contracts any contagion of schism in communicating with Dr. Hooper now, as administering Bishop of the Diocese of Bath and Wells.

“ But you object the intemperate heat of our particular diocesan against our doctrine of nonresistance. And you add “ that the whole world must think it a betraying our principles to come over to those who openly defy them.” But whilst we live in his diocese, Providence has not left us at liberty to deny him that duty which is owing to him by the rules of the spiritual society, on account of our being inhabitants of his particular district. Nor can we whilst we live here communicate with the more orthodox Bishops of the same communion, otherwise than by communion with him who is in actual communion with his more orthodox brethren.”^e

There is much more on the same subject in the letter, from which the extracts are taken : but these are sufficient to show what Dodwell's principles were, and to prove his consistency in carrying out those principles, even in Burnet's diocese.

Nelson was asked at the same time, whether a man could join in communion with a Church which used unlawful prayers. He replied that the unlawful prayers could not be assented to : but he might law-

^e Marshall, App. No. VIII.

fully hold communion with such a Church : that notwithstanding such mistakes in a Church Christ holds communion with it : “ and where Christ holds communion we are obliged to hold it : for it’s there as with the soul in the body which leaves not the body for the head-ach, or a wound that is not mortal.” He adds : “ if that were true, we should hold no communion with any Church in the world : because it’s more than probable, that no Church in its offices is so perfect as to be without error or mistake in them.”

Nelson then meets an objection, which he puts in the following form : “ *If it be said why do we then forsake the communion of the Church of Rome?*” This objection is met so conclusively, and is so calculated to disprove the unreasonable charge of Popery, so flippantly alleged by some modern writers, that I shall quote his reply at length.

“ 1. I answer, that that Church is not to be held communion with, though its offices were pure, because of the doctrines and practices of it, which are corrupted in the vitals of them.

“ 2. The very offices do partake of the corruption, are vitally corrupted, as in respect of the object of worship, saints and images, or of the things prayed for, or the things acknowledged therein.

“ 3. They are so incorporated, that there is no communicating without them, the body of their service being made up of them.

“ 4. These are among them made necessary terms of communion : so should any of a contrary opinion hold communion with that Church in fact, as he is *ipso facto* an heretick, and stands excommunicated by their *Maundy Thursday Bull*, so, if discovered, would be prosecuted as such.”^f

^f Marshall, App. No. IX.

In this way does Nelson prove that the cases were not similar. And the extracts, while they support his argument, are also calculated to shield his memory from the attacks of prejudiced persons in our own times.

Much correspondence took place at this period between the Nonjurors, since many dissented from Dodwell's view. Brokesby, as well as Dodwell, enters largely upon the subject. In a letter of October 19th 1710, he thus writes :

“That we could not communicate with the present possessors formerly because there was altar against altar ; which cannot now be said : that we could not communicate with them while our excellent Fathers were alive : that these might if they had pleased have ordained Bishops into vacant sees : that this was not done, (which alone could have hindered it) and hence upon the death of our deprived Fathers a right accrued to the present possessors, there being none else who could justly challenge it : that when our deprived Fathers consecrated other Bishops, they capacitated them to perform episcopal functions, gave them a right to ordain others, and hereby a power to prevent the failure of this order, which might otherwise be feared as in Scotland : and they might have commissioned them to exercise their episcopal offices : but they could not commission them to do it after their deaths, the commission determining with the life of their commissioner, nor could give them right to act in full sees.”^g

Brokesby alludes to a report, that the deprived Bishops agreed that a power was given the new Bishops, that is, Hickes and Wagstaffe, equal to that

^g Marshall, App. No. X. p. 41.

of the Bishop of Norwich, and that it was to be exercised after the death of the Bishops. He says in reply: "It can hardly be imagined that those wise and good men should grant such a power: in that if they had had a mind in their life time to have closed the schism, this might have precluded them from doing it. But further, this power could not have been granted without an unanimous consent of all the deprived Bishops, in that if any one had stood out this would have rendered the grant invalid, because he might have insisted on his own right: now we have reason to think that Bishop Ken never concurred to the grant of such a power."^h

Marshall doubts whether any notification was made of the appointment of suffragans, Hickes having stated, that it was sufficient to do so as occasion offered. He says he knew a lady, who earnestly desired one of these suffragans to notify his consecration on the death of Lloyd: as she had no other objection to their communion, than the want of Bishops, of which she had no proof. Marshall adds: "The suffragan had no reason to mistrust her secrecy nor her fidelity to his interests, and a good deal of personal obligation to do all in his power for her satisfaction: and yet he suffered her to come over to us, for want of sufficient notification."ⁱ I do not, however, see the force of this reasoning: because it is clear that the lady wanted a public notification, which the suffragan was probably afraid to make. It will be seen, in a subsequent chapter, that Hickes did not conceal the matter.

A second letter was written by Brokesby, dated Nov. 18, 1710, to the same party. It appears that

^h Marshall, App. No. X. p. 41.

ⁱ Marshall, 176, 177.

the individual had insisted on the right of the deprived Bishops to appoint successors. Brokesby takes up Dodwell's position, and contends that such a grant, if made, must be fully attested : and that then the question whether the deprived Bishops had such a power must be considered. It appears also, that during these discussions, the consecrations of Hickes and Wagstaffe were fully made known ; or at all events they were pleaded in the letter to Brokesby. This is certain, since Brokesby thus argues :

“ You make this grant a subsequent act to those persons being ordained suffragan Bishops, and to be a synodical decree of our deprived Fathers. Admitting the first, their being ordained : we insist on the proof of the subsequent grant, the enlargement of their power, and this over the whole Church of England. If it was a synodical determination, then let the *Acta synodalia* be produced, and this under the hands of the Bishops, who were members of the synod, according to the forms used in synods.”^k He afterwards adds : “ Suppose our deprived Fathers had intended to convey such a power to those worthy suffragans, and agreed among themselves to do it : if they did not by some formal act convey it, no such power accrues to them, neither can they, by virtue of such an intention, challenge any jurisdiction.”^l Brokesby therefore urges the production of the grant before its legality be discussed. Another letter was written by Brokesby in 1712 ; but he only re-asserts his previous arguments. It does not appear that any grant, by which Hickes and Wagstaffe were authorized to act as diocesan Bishops, was produced : though had such been the case, it would have been

^k Marshall, p. 45.

^l Ibid. p. 46.

of no avail, as the deprived Bishops possessed no such power. This point was discussed by Dodwell in another work, which I shall presently notice.

Granting that the deprived Bishops had the power to appoint suffragans : it must be admitted, that they could not appoint them as their successors. A suffragan acted only by commission : and that commission was always dissolved by the death of the diocesan. "I may have leave to ask," says Marshall, "what authority a suffragan hath, independent on the commission, whereby he acts : and when the relation is dissolved between him and the person who so commissioned him ?"^m

It will be seen from the foregoing extracts, that Dodwell and his friends were not privy to the consecrations of Hickes and Wagstaffe : and further, that they did not admit, that the deprived Bishops could do more than appoint suffragans to act during their own lives. His views were fully stated in his "*Case in View*" and the "*Further Prospect*:" and therefore, after Lloyd's death and Ken's resignation, he communicated with the National Church. Being exceedingly anxious to put an end to the schism, he published "*The Case in View now in Fact*."ⁿ

This is a very important work in the controversy.

^m Marshall's Defence, 173.

ⁿ The Case in View now in Fact ; proving the Continuance of a Separate Communion, without Substitutes in any of the late invalidly-deprived Sees, since the Death of William, late Lord Bishop of Norwich, is Schismatical. With an Appendix, proving that our late invalidly-deprived Fathers had no right to substitute Successors, who might legitimate the Separation, after that the Schism had been concluded by the Decease of the last Survivor of those same Fathers. By the Author of The Case in View. 8vo. London 1711.

To this period every Churchman must deeply sympathize with the Nonjurors. Our sympathies, however, cannot be of the same character with the later Nonjurors, who continued the separation on principles, which were repudiated by such men as Ken, Frampton, Dodwell, Nelson, and Brokesby.

Dodwell now charges the schism on those, who continued the separation from the National Church. At the head of this party was Hickes, who was supported by many men of great talents. "*The Case in View now in Fact*" was intended for those, who continued the separation. Dodwell laments, that "they are striving their excellent wits to find new pretences every day for continuing the new schism, as conscious that the only justifiable reason has indeed failed them, and yet unwilling to unite with their old friends and fellow communicants." He even fears that the divisions may "end in Atheism or Popery."° "They cannot," he says, "continue their separation without commencing a new schism, to be imputed to themselves against the whole Church of England, which is now united against them, and is indeed the Church which is opposed by their separation. And the orders, which we suppose the Bishops we are speaking of to have derived from our deceased constant Fathers, now with God, can give them no more authority than what was lodged in our Fathers, from whom they are supposed to have received it. But those Fathers also had been schismaticks, if they had erected altars in full sees."ª The rights of the deprived Bishops were extinguished with their lives: and they could not appoint Bishops to succeed them in their dioceses.

° The Case in View now in Fact, p. 3.

ª Ibid. p. 29.

He alludes further to the prayers for the Sovereign, and his view is, that those who join in them are only guilty of what he terms a *sinful fact*, not of heresy in doctrine. He admits that they are to refuse their assent to those prayers.^a

In this work Dodwell argued, that the deprived Bishops would have appointed successors in some of their sees, if they had intended to continue the schism after their decease: but in the *Appendix* he contends, that no such right or power belonged to them. Such substitutes, he says, would fall short of the title of their predecessors, a circumstance which he regards as favourable to the actual possessors of the sees. Such substitutes, he argued, would want several things which the deprived Bishops possessed. The Bishop was consecrated by the Provincial College into a vacant see, which could not have been the case with the substitute. He considered that there were then no altars capable of being injured by other altars, except those of the possessors, which could not be invaded without schism. The Bishops themselves, he says, would have been schismatics, if they had consecrated into full sees: and consequently, they could not convey powers to others, which could not have been exercised by themselves. He shews, that the separation arose in consequence of injury done to the deprived Bishops; that its continuance after the death of the last of them was no assertion of their rights; and that the injury being ended, another cause must be sought, if the separation must be continued. No persons could be injured except the actual possessors; so that the separatists would be the authors of the injury, and therefore schismatics.

^a Case in View now in Fact, p. 115.

Another argument was forcibly put, namely, that the deprived Bishops could not acquire new rights by their deprivation; and that, without new powers, they could not appoint others to succeed them after their own death. He concludes:

“The sum of what has been said is this: there can be no schism by contagion, where there is no principal schismatick: the death of the last survivor of our late invalidly deprived Fathers made the rival of that same survivor no longer a schismatick, by making his occupied possession a vacancy, which was all that he wanted before for making his occupied possession perfectly canonical. That death therefore put an end to the last principal schismatick, as a schismatick, as well as to the last invalidly deprived survivor. All the diocesan districts of our National Church are fairly and canonically possessed. Nor could such canonically-possessed districts be invaded by any of our late invalidly-deprived Fathers, or all of them, though synodically assembled, without commencing a new schism from the time of that invasion. What they could not validly, nor without schism, act in their own persons, that they could not authorize others to act in their name. If those Fathers themselves might be allowed such a liberty of invading occupied districts, they must necessarily have acquired new powers by their invalid deprivations. These things therefore being so, no commissions for powers derived from our late Fathers can excuse the present continuance of the separation from being schismatical.”^r

In Dodwell's opinion they were not called upon to inquire, whether there were any commissions from

^r Case in View now in Fact. Appendix, pp. 47, 48.

the deprived Bishops, nor whether they were authentically attested, nor whether they were publicly notified. If the facts are true, he argues, they are of no avail, if the deprived Bishops had no right to convey such powers to others as would legitimate a separation. "All would not suffice for giving others a right to powers, that ceased to be their own at the time, when the persons were to exercise the powers so conveyed to them. Till our friends can first answer these reasons satisfactorily, it will be in vain to produce or insist on such evidences of facts, if they be pleased to consider how little they could thereby advance their cause, though they should answer the expectation that even themselves might raise of them, as to the proof of the facts pleaded by them."^s

The same year in which "The Case in View now in Fact" was published, the year 1711, Dodwell died. On the 6th of June he heard evening prayers in his room, and died shortly after four o'clock on the morning of the *seventh*.^t The writer of his Life was summoned to his room at one o'clock in the morning, when it was evident that he was dying. His ejaculations were such as these, "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me: Lord, lift up the light of thy countenance upon me." Shortly before, he had received the Holy Eucharist in the parish church. He was buried in the chancel of Shottesbrooke church, his grave being marked by an inscription on a plain stone. He had arrived at the age of seventy years.^u

After the death of this eminent man, Gandy, who with Hickes was strenuous for continuing the separa-

^s Appendix to Case in View now in Fact, p. 49.

^t Dodwell's Life, 542.

^u Ibid. 549, 550.

tion, published a reply to "*The Case in View now in Fact.*"^w We are informed in the Preface, that it was finished at the time of Dodwell's death. This is stated by Gandy, lest any of Dodwell's new friends should say, that no one could answer him in his lifetime.

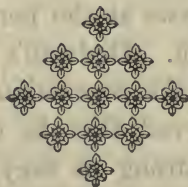
Gandy's book is in the form of a dialogue : and in order to lessen Dodwell's reputation, the speakers commence with an allusion to his work on the soul, in which some singular views are promulgated. One of the speakers professes to follow Dodwell in his arguments on this subject : the other argues, that his opinions were erroneous, and that, therefore, such a man could not be trusted. He is, in short, treated most disingenuously by Gandy, whose aim evidently was to induce the belief, that because Dodwell may have been in error on some points not fundamental, he was not to be trusted in any. Afterwards he unsuccessfully endeavours to prove, that Dodwell had contradicted himself. For this purpose he quotes from the "*Vindication of the deprived Bishops :*" but there is not a passage in that work, which is not reconcilable with his views at the period of his return to the National Church. Dodwell's arguments against the continuance of the separation are considered by Gandy, who conceived, that the reasons for its continuance were as strong as they were for its commencement.

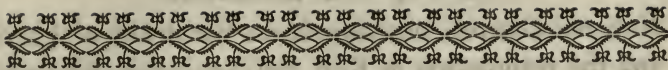
Another work appeared also against *The Case in View*. It is without date : but the internal evidence

^w A Conference between Gerontius and Junius. In which Mr. Dodwell's Case in View now in Fact is Considered. 8vo. London, 1711.

proves, that it was published after Dodwell's death.* The author quotes Gandy's work, a circumstance which must be regarded as conclusive as to the date of its publication. He commences with the assertion, that a schism can never be closed on Mr. Dodwell's principles. He also argues, that no powers could be given in schism, and consequently, that the possessors of the sees were not true Bishops. In short, several very influential individuals were resolved to continue the separation by means of Hickes and Wagstaffe, who had been consecrated to the episcopal office by some of the deprived Bishops, as has been shewn in a preceding Chapter.

* Mr. Dodwell's Case in View Thoroughly Considered. Or the Case of Lay-Deprivations and Independency of the Church (in Spirituals) set in a True Light. By a Presbyterian of the Church of England.





CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1710—1720.

SEPARATION CONTINUED.—DEATH OF KEN.—WAGSTAFFE'S DEATH.—NEW CONSECRATIONS.—CONTROVERSIES.—HIGDEN.—BEDFORD.—SACHEVEREL.—DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE AND ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.—THE WHIGS.—DEATH OF NELSON AND OTHERS.—DEATH OF COMPTON.—LOCKHART'S MEMOIRS.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HICKES.—BONWICKE.—BRETT JOINS THE NONJURORS.—IS CONSECRATED A BISHOP.—THE REBELLION.—SUFFERINGS OF THE NONJURORS.—WELTON'S CONDUCT.—QUESTION HOW FAR THE NONJURORS IMPLICATED.—WRITINGS.—BENNET'S NONJURORS' SEPARATION.—HOADLEY'S PRESERVATIVE.—HICKES'S CATHOLIC CHURCH.—MARSHALL'S DEFENCE.—EARBURY.—INTERNAL DISPUTES ON THE USAGES.—NEW COMMUNION OFFICE.—COLLIER'S WORKS IN DEFENCE OF THE USAGES.—SPINKES'S WORKS IN OPPOSITION.—LESLIE'S VIEWS.—BRETT'S WORKS.—COLLIER'S DESERTION DISCUSSED.—SEPARATION OF NONJURORS INTO TWO COMMUNIONS.—VARIOUS WORKS.—CAMPBELL'S MIDDLE STATE.—SCLATER AND KING.



WE are now entering on a most important period in the history of the Nonjurors. Some of the more eminent of their number had returned to the communion of the National Church: but many others resolved on the continuance of the separation under the Bishops, who had been consecrated by the deprived Prelates. Among the latter were Collier, Wagstaffe, Gandy, and other individuals of considerable eminence. After the return of Dodwell, Nelson, and Brokesby to the

National Church, consequent on the death of Lloyd and the resignation of Ken, the Nonjurors, who persisted in continuing the separation, acted on principles different from those by which that section, who returned to the Church, had been guided from the period of the Revolution to the year 1710. Our sympathies, therefore, cannot be so strong in favour of the men who continued the separation. At the Revolution the difficulty, with the exception of the Oath of Allegiance, consisted in recognizing other Bishops, while those who had been deprived still survived. Dodwell contended, that they could not appoint their own successors: and it is difficult to understand on what principles such a claim could be supported. As long as they lived, we can imagine how difficult it must have been to yield obedience to those who succeeded them; but after their death it seems reasonable that the schism should have been closed: and though the Clergy might not have been able to have taken the Oath of Allegiance, yet, for the sake of the peace of the Church, they should have been content to live as private individuals. They might have held communion with the Church, though they did not exercise their ministry. The only objection, as I conceive, to be urged against such a course related to the petitions for the Sovereign: but this was met by Dodwell, and it can scarcely be contended, that it was sufficient to justify separation. At all events, whatever might have been the practice of that generation of Nonjurors, it appears difficult to understand the grounds, on which they proceeded to appoint Bishops and Priests, and thus continue the succession and the separation.

We have considered the particulars connected with

Ken's resignation, which led to the publication of Dodwell's *Case In Fact*, and to the return of several of the Nonjurors to the National Church. In a short time the pious Bishop himself was removed from time to eternity, dying in March 1710, or 1711, according to our present reckoning. Even Ken was exposed to the attacks of envy and malice. Among other charges, it was alleged, that he had united with the other Lords in inviting the Prince of Orange to come into England. How such a charge could have been advanced, it is difficult to imagine, Compton being the only Bishop who signed that document. The summer and autumn of 1710 were spent by the Bishop, at the Hot Wells, Bristol: and he expired at Longleat on the 19th of March. For many years he had travelled with his *shroud* in his *Portmanteau*, remarking that it might be wanted as soon "as any other of his habiliments." The shroud was actually put on by himself some days before his death, in order that his body might not be stripped. "He was buried at Frome Selwood, it being the nearest parish within his own diocese to the place where he died, as by his own request, in the churchyard, under the east window of the chancel, just at sun-rising, without any manner of pomp or ceremony, besides that of the Order for burial in the Liturgy of the Church of England; on the 21st day of March 1710, anno ætat. 73."^b The following extract from his Will is very characteristic of the man. "As for my

^b Hawkins, 44, 45. The additional Letters of Ken, which have been collected by Mr. Round, are of the same character as those which had been previously published, and prove, that the Bishop was averse to continuing the separation after the death of Lloyd.

religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolick Faith, profess'd by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West: more particularly I die in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the cross."^c

A work entitled *The Royal Sufferer* has sometimes been attributed to Ken: but I can scarcely conceive that he was the author. At all events the authorship is doubtful. It is, however, a curious volume. The writer expresses a wish that King James were a Protestant; but still he declares his allegiance to his Majesty. He ventures to assert, that as a member of the Church of England he would be in the safer course. "If I am regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and made a Christian by true baptism, believing the Scriptures: can it be supposed that I shall suffer damnation for not equally believing traditions? If I make conscience to serve and worship God, can it be thought I shall perish for not worshipping images? If I pray to God, as our blessed Saviour hath taught me, who can think I should incur the sentence of damnation for not invoking saints and angels?" After an expression of humility, in urging such topics, he adds: "if through the divine blessing they should be made efficacious to cause your Majesty to return to and embrace the religion professed by your royal Father, it would be the joy and rejoicing of all your people: and would open a door of hope to 'em even in this Valley of Achor."

In the *Meditation on Affliction*, the writer freely censures the measures of the King, commencing with

^c Hawkins, 26, 27.

the executions in the west after Monmouth's rebellion. He says: "had the King's ministers (to whom he entirely left it) made as much use of mercy as they did of justice, I am sure they would have done the King more service." He further says, in enumerating the causes of his Majesty's troubles, "it was a great piece of injustice to set up a new court for the management of ecclesiastical affairs, contrary to the express laws of the land: whereby the Church and Clergy of England were subjected to the wills of some men that were enemies to both. It was likewise a great piece of injustice to suspend the Right Reverend the Bishop of London from the exercise of his pastoral charge, for that which in itself was no offence." The declaration for liberty of conscience is censured as against law, and as intended to serve the Church of Rome. With respect to the order for reading it in Churches he asks: "why should the Bishops be denied liberty of conscience, when it was granted to dissenters? Not that the Bishops were against indulgence to dissenters, when it should be proposed in Parliament, but they then saw there was *latet anguis in herba*, which many were not aware of." Referring to the imprisonment of the Bishops, which he censures, he says: "I have, however, this consolation in myself, that what I acted at that time was out of duty both to God and the King: and that I am no way to be charged with what afterwards followed thereupon."^d This passage has been supposed to fix the authorship on Ken, since the writer was one of the suffering parties; but it does not warrant us, in the

^d The Royal Sufferer. A Manual of Meditations and Devotions. By T. K. D.D. 8vo. 1699, and 12mo. 1701. See the latter edition, pp. 64. 66. 70.

absence of other evidence, in coming to the conclusion that it was his production.

Instead of pursuing the course adopted by Dodwell and his friends, Hickes and those who concurred with him, took steps to perpetuate the schism. They conceived that the deprived Bishops had authority to appoint successors, without regard to dioceses, to act for the Church of England. So that, in their estimation, the national Church was not a true Church. It will be remembered that Hickes and Wagstaffe were consecrated in 1693, just after Sancroft's death: but the deprived Bishops never ordained any others. Wagstaffe died in the year 1712; so that Hickes was left alone. He, therefore, could not continue the succession himself, because three Bishops are required by the canons at consecrations. Under these circumstances, he had recourse to Scotland, and Campbell and Gadderar assisted in 1713 in consecrating Jeremiah Collier, Samuel Hawes, and Nathaniel Spinkes. Hickes must have known, that the Bishops of Scotland could not lawfully interfere in another province. Rather, however, than lose the opportunity of continuing the schism, he adopted this irregular proceeding, fearing probably, that some of the Nonjurors would have returned to the national communion, unless a provision were made for the succession of Bishops. For this act it is not easy to make an excuse: consequently our sympathy for them as a party must from this period be considerably diminished.

Wagstaffe was a man of great eminence among the first generation of Nonjurors. After his deprivation, he practised physic in London. Besides the "*Letter out of Suffolk*," containing an account of Sancroft, he was the author of "*A Letter out of the Country concerning the Bishops lately in the Tower, and now*

under suspension: an “*Answer to a late Pamphlet, Obedience Demonstrated by Overall’s Convocation Book* ;” an “*Answer to Sherlock’s Vindication* :” “*Remarks on Some Late Sermons* :” “*The Present State of Jacobinism in England, 1700, A Second Part in Answer to the First*,” with several other productions of a similar character. The last mentioned pamphlet was written in reply to one by Burnet.^e Wagstaffe’s son resided for some time at Rome in the somewhat singular character of Protestant chaplain to the Chevalier St. George, and afterwards to his son. It is remarkable that the Pope should have permitted any one to reside, in his capital, in such a character: but the fact proves, that Rome herself often acts from motives of policy, as well as the secular and more political states. There are extant several letters from a Thomas Wagstaffe to Hearne, on various matters, but chiefly antiquities, to the study of which he seems to have devoted himself with much enthusiasm.^f But if the account by Nichols of the death of the Pretender’s chaplain be correct, this could scarcely have been the same person. It is stated, that he died at Rome in 1770, at the age of 78, and the letters to Hearne were written, some of them, as early as the year 1715.^g

At this period the controversy respecting the Oaths was carried on with great bitterness on both sides. Higden appears to have been the first to renew the warfare on this particular point. He had himself

^e Wagstaffe was the able vindicator of King Charles the First’s claim to the authorship of the *Ἰκων Βασιλική*, the controversy respecting which has frequently been revived but never settled. A list of his publications is given in the *Biog. Brit. Supp.* 220: and in Nichols’s *Lit. Anec.* i. 35, 36.

^f See Aubrey’s *Letters*.

^g Nichols, i. 36.

been a Nonjuror, and, like Sherlock, on his compliance, he seems to have deemed it necessary to vindicate his conduct. Accordingly, he published his *View of the English Constitution*.^h He states in an Address to the Reader ; “ after I had passed so many years of my life, without being able to reconcile myself to the Oaths ; in the course of my studies, I met with some passages, which gave me cause to suspect that I had in some particulars mistaken the English constitution. They made me pause, gave me occasion for reflection, and inclined me once more to take a review of the judgment I had made so many years ago : with an intention, that if upon this inquiry, I should find my former judgment was well grounded, to sit down under it in a quiet and inoffensive way, whatever inconveniences might attend it : if not then, with my judgment, to alter my practice.” The principle, on which he proceeds, is directly the reverse of that, on which he formerly acted, namely, that the Prince in possession could claim the allegiance of the subject. During the same year the Book was answered, in an anonymous publication, and with much cleverness.ⁱ In the outset the writer says : “ you are come into the government. But upon what terms ? You once thought it all a wickedness and usurpation. And have you altered your mind ! No. You still think it was so. But you have found reasons, that, notwithstanding all that, you

^h “ View of The English Constitution, with respect to the Sovereign Authority of the Prince, and the Allegiance of the Subject. In vindication of the lawfulness of taking the Oaths, to Her Majesty, by Law required.” 8vo. London 1709.

ⁱ A Letter to the Reverend Mr. William Higden, on account of his View of the English Constitution, &c. By a Natural Born Subject. 8vo. 1709.

ought to comply with it. So that this is no justification of the government, but only of your own compliance. And you are as free to part with it tomorrow, if it keep not its ground, and comply again with whatever may rise up in its place. Therefore, the government is not beholding to any convert who shall come in otherwise than upon revolution principles.”^k In allusion to Monmouth he says, “if he had succeeded, he would have been as good a King for Mr. Higden, as any hereditary monarch in Europe.”¹ At the close of the volume is a singular advertisement concerning the Jacobite converts. “In all revolutions there have ever been dissatisfied persons.” Then, after stating, that changes afterwards take place, he adds: “of this sort we have had but two since the Revolution, Dr. Sherlock and now Mr. Higden. The first perplexed the cause, and shook the principles of the Revolution, nor has the latter come up to them. And both have given greater occasion against the establishment, than we heard from the Jacobites before. Mr. Hoadley has long pursued the Lord Bishop of Exeter, for assuring the world, (as he says) that her Majesty’s title is only that of a successful usurpation. Which he would draw as a consequence from his Lordship’s principle of non-resistance. But Mr. Higden, without the trouble of consequences, openly maintains the title of a successful usurpation, and gives her Majesty no other right or title whatever. This is all she gets by the Jacobite converts. They *expose* her to *excuse* themselves. The Jews compassed sea and land to make proselytes, but they had a maxim,

^k A Letter to the Reverend Mr. William Higden, &c. pp. 1, 2.

¹ Ibid. 22.

not to trust a convert to the third generation. For they made him twofold more than themselves."

Another writer also published "*Remarks on Mr. Higden's Utopian Constitution :*" and to this and the preceding, the author replied in *A Defence of the View*, in which the same ground is again gone over. But the most important work on this subject was published in 1713, in a small folio.^m The actual author of this work was not known; but it was supposed to have been written by Harbin, a nonjuring clergyman, and the Preface by Theophilus Downes, once Fellow of Balliol College. Hilkieh Bedford, however, a Nonjuring Clergyman, was tried at the Guildhall, London, Feb. 13, 1713, and found guilty, on the ground of the work being a seditious Libel. He was charged with *writing, printing, and publishing* the book: and, on the 4th of May following, was sentenced to pay a fine of 1000 marks, to be imprisoned for three years, and, at the expiration of that period, to find sureties for his good behaviour during life. There was another strange part of the sentence, namely, that, on the following Friday, he should be brought before the court, with a paper on his hat, expressing the crime and the judgment. On the Friday, however, a warrant was produced under her Majesty's hand, remitting this part of the sentence, on the ground that he was a Clergyman. It was

^m The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted: The History of the Succession since the Conquest cleared: and the true English Constitution Vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Dr. Higden's View and Defence, &c. By a Gentleman. London, fol. 1713. Several persons were supposed to have been concerned in this work: but there was no foundation whatever for Kennet's insinuation, that Nelson was, in any way, implicated. Nichols, i. 400.

supposed, that the author or authors, had, by some means, seen Lord Hales's MSS. of *The Pleas of the Crown*. When, therefore, the works of that learned individual were published, the obnoxious passages, which had been quoted in *The Hereditary Right*, were omitted; a process, which in the present day, would scarcely be deemed honest. It seems that Bedford knew the author; but he preferred imprisonment and fines to a breach of confidence. Nor was he a loser in the end: for he afterwards established a school, which was carried on with so much success, that he left a considerable fortune to his son Dr. Bedford, a Physician, who died sometime after the middle of the last century.ⁿ The son took the Oaths as a qualification for office, on being appointed Register of the College of Physicians. Harbin, the supposed author of *The Hereditary Right*, resided with Lord Weymouth, who gave him a hundred pounds to take to Mr. Bedford, his Lordship concluding, that he was the writer of the Book. "Though not the Author, he submitted to be thought so from zeal to the Cause, and affection for the real author." This is the remark of Nichols, who also alludes to the singular circumstance, that Harbin, the real Author, should take the money to Bedford. The following account of the author was written by Mr. James West, on a copy of the book, in which certain MS. notes had been written by Bishop Kennett: "Upon shewing the above notes by Bishop Kennett, to Mr. Harbin, he told me he was the author of the annexed Book: and immediately produced the original copy of the same, together with three large volumes of original documents from whence the same was com-

ⁿ State Trials, vol. ix. 682.

piled. He was chaplain to Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and was the head of the Clergy of the Nonjuring persuasion at that time. A man of infinite knowledge and reading : but of a weak, prejudiced, and bigoted judgment.”^o The Book was considered as setting aside the succession of the House of Hanover : consequently the Hanoverian minister made a complaint to the government. The evidence against Bedford was, that he had given the copy to the Printer. Calamy says, that the book was greatly dispersed, and that many copies were presented to men in power.^p The mercy that was extended to Bedford, says a contemporary, “served to improve the suspicion, that the man and the Book and the Cause had some interest at court.”^q

In an anonymous work of the last century, it is stated, that the book was actually presented to her Majesty. “A book in folio, concerning the Hereditary Right to the Crown, wrote by one Nonjuring Clergyman and fathered by another, was presented to the Queen, and well received by her : though it was so plain against the Revolution settlement, that it made a very great noise, and the ministry could not prevent the law taking place against Bedford, the supposed author, who was fined and imprisoned, and sentenced to stand in the pillory. But being a clergyman great interest was made with the Queen to have the ignominious part of the sentence remitted, which was procured.”^r

^o Nichols’s Lit. Anec. i. 167, 168. Harbin’s production shews that his judgment was not weak. Because he differed from himself, Mr. West pronounced him weak and bigoted.

^p Calamy’s Life, ii. 268, 269.

^q Wisdom of Looking Backward, 351, 352.

^r Memoirs of Queen Anne, &c. 8vo. London, 1729. p. 253.

Bedford was the author of several works of considerable value, especially an *Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*. In this volume, the question relative to the disputed clause in the xx th article is fully and ably discussed. Collier, in his History, gives the whole of this portion of Bedford's work. He also was the editor of the *Life of Barwick*, of which he published an English translation. This is a work of great merit. As it will not be necessary to refer again to Bedford, it may be mentioned, that he lived a few years after his trial, dying in the year 1724.

It would scarcely fall within my province, in this work, to notice, at length, the affair of Sacheverell: but, as on many points the views of his supporters coincided with those of the Nonjurors, some allusion to the matter may be permitted. The Whig ministry acted most unwisely in the prosecution, which issued in the accession of the Tories to power. It also led many of the Clergy to believe, that they were not sincere friends to the Church of England. Sacheverell did not directly impugn the Revolution. The charge against him was, that he had maintained, that the proceedings of that period were not a case of resistance to the supreme power: so that the Revolution could not be adduced against the doctrine of passive obedience. The managers of the trial laboured to shew, that the Revolution was an act of resistance; and that consequently at times resistance

Boyer intimates that it was countenanced by Secretary Bromley: but that the ministry thought it incumbent to notice the work on account of some manuscripts, which must have been obtained from the Lord Treasurer's Library. This writer also insinuates, that the book was the production of several Nonjurors, instancing Lesley and Nelson. The supposition with respect to Nelson is absurd. Boyer, 657, 658.

was lawful. He was violent in his opposition to Dissenters ; to occasional Conformists ; and to all the Whigs. The House of Commons resolved to prosecute him for his two sermons, one at the assizes at Derby in August, the other at St. Paul's on the 5th of November 1709, intitled " Perils among False Brethren." The Commons attended in Westminster Hall as his accusers. He read his own defence, after which the Lords entered into a very warm debate on the subject. The proceedings continued three weeks, the Queen being present in secret every day. Her *sedan*, as she proceeded to the Hall, was surrounded by the mob, who cried, " God bless your Majesty and the Church. We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." There was a wide difference of opinion among the Lords. None of them actually defended non-resistance ; but Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, thought, that resistance was only allowable in extraordinary cases. He contended, however, that the maxim should not be put forth, as the people were too ready to resist : that the Revolution could not be boasted of, or made a precedent : that a mantle should be cast over it ; that it should rather be called a vacancy : that those who examined it too nicely were not its best friends : and that at a period, when resistance was openly justified, there appeared to be a necessity for preaching non-resistance. The Duke of Leeds said, that, prior to the Revolution, he never expected that the crown would have been settled upon the Prince : that the Prince had often told him he had no such design : that a distinction should be made between resistance and a revolution : and that the attempt, had it not succeeded, would undoubtedly have been a rebellion. Trimmel, Bishop of Norwich, spoke of Sacheverell's presumption in publishing a

Collection of Prayers in the time of his persecution, when he was only prosecuted according to law.*

Probably Sacheverell was induced to publish the Prayers, to which the Bishop alluded, by the success of his Sermon : or the booksellers may have persuaded him to publish something of the kind. Of his Sermon, *Perils Among False Brethren*, no less than *forty thousand* copies were sold in a few weeks. The Prayers were published at the beginning of his trial : “ *Prayers and Meditations on the Day of his Trial. Price one Penny.*” Among the petitions were the following : “ O Thou God of patience and consolation, grant me patience and resignation under my sufferings. Give me Christian courage to perform the cause which I have in hand.” Prayers were also desired, in the Queen’s Chapel, for Dr. Henry Sacheverell under persecution, by Mr. Palmer, for which he was removed from his post. At the close of the trial another Tract was published, *Dr. Sacheverell’s Prayers of Thanksgiving for his great Deliverance out of his Troubles.* 1710 ;” so that he evidently viewed his conviction as a victory.†

The Lords decided on his suspension : his sermons, together with *A Collection of Passages* used at the trial, were ordered to be publicly burned : but still his conviction was a triumph. Bisset endeavoured to turn the tide of popular feeling against Sacheverell, by publishing his *Modern Fanatic*. Three parts of this work made their appearance ; but the Author

* Tindal, iv. 157. Macpherson, ii. 394—398.

† The Wisdom of Looking Backward, to Judge the better of one side and t’other by the Speeches, Writings, Actions, and other matters of Fact on both sides for the four years last past. London, 1715, pp. 10, 19. Tindall, iv. 157.

was most severely handled by some of Sacheverell's supporters. Bissett completely failed in his object. Nay, it is questionable, whether he did not injure his cause : for he adduced certain charges affecting Sacheverell's private character, which were manifestly false. In short, if Sacheverell was the tool of the Tories, Bisset was no less the tool of the Whigs.

It was said at the time, that Sacheverell's friends, foreseeing the result, pushed the matter forward. Some of the Whigs, after the trial was over, asserted, that the preaching the Sermons was a Tory attempt to supplant the Whigs. But surely this assertion implies, that the Whigs were less keen sighted than their adversaries. The supposition, while it attributes deep policy to the Tories, renders the Whigs ridiculous, as being duped by their opponents.^u

It is singular, that Compton defended Sacheverell's views. Sharpe, Archbishop of York, was also among his supporters. Both voted, that he was *not guilty*. Among the Prints, published on the occasion, there was one, in which Sacheverell is surrounded by various individuals who supported him, and Sharpe and Compton are of the number.

The suspension expired in 1713, March 23rd, and the day was celebrated with great rejoicings in London and several other places. On the following Sunday he preached at his Church, in Southwark : and on the 29th of May he was appointed to preach before the House of Commons, by whom he was thanked for his sermon. In a little time the court bestowed upon him the valuable rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn. His conviction proved his greatest triumph over his prosecutors : for the popu-

^u Memoirs of Queen Anne, 8vo. 1729, 61.

lace every where viewed him as a martyr, and received him, in his progress through the country, with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect. The Queen too was probably inclined to favour his cause : for the arguments and statements of the managers were such, as could not be pleasing to royal ears. This circumstance was not forgotten by some of those about her Majesty, who reminded her of being taken to school by her ministers, to be instructed in revolution sentiments, as it was supposed, that the royal attendance was in compliance with the wishes of her advisers. The result is well known. The Whigs were soon removed from office : the country was against them : her Majesty was opposed to them : and this trial completed their downfall.*

I shall not enter into the question respecting Queen Anne's views of her brother, or whether she wished him to succeed after her death. She died in 1714 : and the Elector of Hanover succeeded quietly to the throne. Had the Queen lived some years longer, probably an attempt might have been made to secure the throne to her brother's family. However, all such intentions, if indeed they were entertained, were frustrated by the death of the Queen. The Whigs were overjoyed at her death, for they viewed the event as the harbinger of their return to power : and some of the Dissenters, regardless of their former inconsistency in the reign of James II, were guilty even of profanity in speaking of her Majesty's departure. One person writes : " they were waiting for an opportunity to restore the Pretender : which while they were waiting for, the Divine Providence, that had so often saved a sinking nation, stept in,

* Life of Bolingbroke, 183, 184.

and, August 1st, 1714, takes away the unhappy Princess.”^x

The Whigs represented themselves as the only true friends of the Protestant succession: yet subsequent discoveries have proved, that they rather consulted their own interest, than the welfare of the country or of the Church. Whenever they were out of power, they used every means of annoyance towards their opponents: and the Pretender was a very convenient pretence for their purpose. Thus, some time after their removal from office consequent on Sacheverell's trial, they actually sanctioned the circulation of false statements in the newspapers, with a view to embarrass the Queen's ministry and excite the people against them. This was done by coining articles of foreign news and publishing them as true. The following is a specimen: “Paris, July 5, 1712. The Chevalier de St. George is at Chaillot, where he is to be retired some days, and lay aside the title of King. 'Tis not yet said what other title he will take; though it is not doubted, but that it will be that of Prince of Wales, and that all this is done in concert, because it would not be convenient for him to go to England with the title of King, but with that of the presumptive heir.”^y It is asserted, that had the Pretender renounced Popery, Queen Anne would have promoted his interests; and that efforts were used to induce him to comply, though without effect, as he protested against such a course. He promised, however, to engage a Protestant clergyman, in the event of his coming to England, to officiate to his Protestant servants.^z This latter promise, it is said,

^x Bennet's Memorial, 399.

^y Life of Bolingbroke, 242.

^z Macpherson, ii. 518.

was broken when he actually came into the country.^a Among the rumours of the day one was, that he had positively renounced Popery, and that his chaplain performed divine service daily in his presence, according to the order of the Anglican Church.^b The Queen's death, however, destroyed the hopes of his friends: but had she lived some years longer, and the Pretender had openly joined the Anglican Church, it is not possible to say, whether he would have been rejected by the people of England.

Several men of eminence among the Nonjurors were removed by death during the reign of Queen Anne. Nelson, no longer, however, a Nonjuror, died January 16th, 1714, leaving £200 by will to Hickes and Spinkes. By a codicil also he gave Mr. Hill £20 per annum. It is unnecessary to enter upon a history of his life. His secession from the Nonjurors influenced many others, and was one of the first steps that weakened their body.^c

Thomas Smith, another clergyman of celebrity, died in the year 1710. He was deprived of his fellowship in the University for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance in 1692. Several of his works display much learning and great abilities. He was

^a Life of Argyle, 153. ^b Memoirs of Queen Anne, 239.

^c Like all the Nonjurors, Nelson was exposed to the charge of Popery, though he did so much to oppose it. His circumstances were very peculiar and distressing: for his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, was a member of the Church of Rome, a circumstance unknown to him at the time of the marriage. She even wrote in defence of Romanism, while he was engaged in the controversy on the opposite side. Subsequent to the Revolution, Nelson lived on the closest terms of intimacy with Tillotson, who actually expired in his arms. After his return to the communion of the National Church, he lived on the same friendly terms with the Nonjurors. Biog. Brit. Birch's Life of Tillotson.

the author of “*Vitæ Quorundam eruditissimorum et illustrium Virorum*. 4to. 1707.” This is a useful work, containing the lives of several men of great eminence in the Church.^d He suffered much for his principles, and died in great poverty.

Not long before the close of Queen Anne’s reign died Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who, perhaps, next to Burnet and Tillotson, was more obnoxious to the Nonjurors than any other prelate. His solemn denial, that he had not concurred in the invitation to the Prince of Orange, is a stain upon his memory, a blot upon his integrity. But notwithstanding his conduct at the Revolution, he was not advanced in the Church, though the see of Canterbury was twice vacant during his life. He was Bishop of London before the Revolution, and he continued Bishop of London till his death. A glowing character was given of him by his chaplain in a sermon before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul’s. The author says, that at the Revolution “he was called peculiarly *The Protestant Bishop*.” He adds, what will scarcely be admitted now, “and indeed he was the ornament and security of the *Protestant Cause*.” This writer talks of jealousies against him and insinuations, which prevented his advancement.^e

^d Biog. Brit. Art. Smith. Nichols, i. 15, 16. In these works a list of his various publications is given. Hearne, writing to Dodwell, says, “this great man died a true confessor of this distressed and afflicted Church, and the public has received a great loss by his fall.” Aubrey’s Letters, i. 203.

^e A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, July 26th 1713, on occasion of the much lamented death of the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Henry late Lord Bishop of London. By Thomas Gooch, D. D. lately one of his Lordship’s domestic chaplains, 8vo. London, 1713.

In the year 1714 the "*Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland*" were published without the consent of the writer, Mr. Lockhart, who had himself acted a conspicuous part in the Pretender's service. Lockhart lent the manuscript to a friend, under a strict injunction not to let it be seen. This friend, however, was so imprudent as to employ some one to transcribe it: and this individual gave a copy to a second party, by whom it was published, with a preface written by Sir David Dalrymple. The circumstance is thus misrepresented in one of the publications of the *period*. "July 20th, 1714. The Jacobite party were so sure of their game that a history of the Pretender, and of the faithful attempts of his friends in Scotland, was drawn up at large: and several copies of it delivered for secret service: till one of the transcribing clerks, for want of suitable reward, conveyed a transcript to the press."^f It is scarcely possible to conceive, that the writer of this extract did not know, that the manuscript had been treacherously given to the public, though he avers that one of the transcribers had done it in consequence of being inadequately rewarded for his labour. The notion is absurd, as he might have relinquished or declined the task. But the propagation of the falsehood served a party purpose, which was precisely the aim of the writer. A *Key* was also published, in which the names of the parties were written at length, the initials and concluding letter only being given in the work itself. Several editions were called for within the year. The *Key* simply contained the names written at length. But during the same year another tract was published, called "*A Protestant*

^f Wisdom of Looking Backward, 369.

Index to Mr. Lock——t's Memoirs, concerning the Affairs of Scotland." In this tract the pages are specified, in which the most obnoxious passages are to be found.^g A descendant of Lockhart's published the "*Memoirs*" in 1817, together with the other papers of his ancestor. In this republication, there is an *additional preface* in answer to Dalrymple's introduction, which was prepared by the author, and left with the copy intended for publication after his decease. Various reasons prevented the publication until 1817, which are stated in the preface by the editor.^h

^g *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland from Queen Anne's Accession to the commencement of the Union, &c.* To which is prefixed an Introduction, shewing the Reason for publishing these Memoirs at this juncture. To which is added an Appendix, London, 8vo. 1714. *A Key to the Memoirs, &c.*, London, 1714. *A Protestant Index, &c.*, 8vo. 1714. These are all by different publishers. The book without the Key is common; with the key and the index, it is scarce.

^h The Lockhart Papers, 2 vols. 4to., London, 1817. The writer of "*The Wisdom of Looking Backward*" has the following entry: "March 5th, 1713-14. The Jacobites began to prepare their psalms of thanksgiving against a time expected; and for the use of their people they published some select psalms in English, with the Latin version of Buchanan, entitled "*The Loyal Man's Psalter: or some select Psalms in Latin and English verse, fit for the Times of Persecution.*" He gives the following specimens:

" Bless'd is the loyal man whose steps
No trayterous counsel lead aside,
Nor stand in rebels ways, nor sit
Where God and justice men deride. *Psalms* 1.
Confounded be those rebels all
That to usurpers bow;
And make what Gods and Kings they please,
And worship them below." *Psalms* 97.

Wisdom of Looking Backward, 337, 338.

Hickes did not long survive the consecration of Collier, Spinkes, and Hawes. He died in the year 1715, at the age of 74, leaving behind him the character of a learned and pious man. Of course he had his failings: but his works will remain as a monument of his learning and piety as long as the English language is used. He was born in the year 1642. He was on intimate terms with Kennet and several other clergymen who complied, and who were anxious to direct his attention to the study of the northern antiquities. His protest against Mr. Talbot was considered as an act of rebellion against the government: and proceedings being commenced, he withdrew into a place of concealment until 1699, when Lord Somers, the Chancellor, ordered the Attorney-General to enter a *noli prosequi* to all proceedings against him. During a portion of this period he resided with White Kennet, wearing a lay-habit, and affecting to be unknown. Disagreeing as they did, they could not converse on ecclesiastical matters: consequently they met on the common ground of literature. At Kennet's suggestion he undertook his most laborious work, the "*Thesaurus*." At last, a fellow of a college in Oxford, coming to Kennet's house, knew him, and called him by his name. This alarmed him: so that he immediately repaired to London, where he remained until the Lord Chancellor interposed. It is stated that he once contemplated taking the Oaths: but the authority on which the report rests appears doubtful.ⁱ The inscription on his tomb, written by his own direction in his will, is adduced as evidence, simply because it does not notice the fact of his appointment as a suffragan

ⁱ Kennet's Life, p. 14, 47, 48.

Bishop. The inscription was as follows: "Depositum Georgii Hickes, S. T. P. non ita pridem Coll. Linc. Oxon. Socii, et Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigornensis Decani, qui Obiit 15 Die Decembris 1715." It is very properly remarked, that no mention of the title of suffragan would at that time have been permitted: consequently nothing can be inferred in favour of the notion that he disclaimed the title.^k

Some notice of Leslie will be given in a subsequent page; but it may be mentioned here that he was supposed to be the author of "*The Mitre and the Crown: or a real Distinction between them*" in 1711, and "*A Continuation of the Mitre and the Crown*" in 1712. In the year 1713 he published "*The Case Stated between the Church of England and the Church of Rome.*" It was answered by a Romanist in "*The Case Re-stated.*" Even this book was cavilled at by the opponents of the Nonjurors. The object was to bring odium upon them as favourers of Popery: and when this could not be done, the next thing was misrepresentation. A more effective work against Rome could scarcely be named than Leslie's "*Case Stated,*" and "*Case Truly Stated;*" yet the following notice appeared at the time. "Feb. 27th, 1713-14: The hopes of bringing over the Pretender to profess the Protestant religion began to diminish every day: especially when men saw that the book writ for that purpose by Mr. Leslie, and called the '*Case Stated,*' was heinously taken by the Papists, and boldly answered by one of them in a tract, '*The Case Re-stated:*' to which Mr. Leslie thought proper to reply in a *Defence* of what he had before said, but with no manner of suggestion that

^k Biog. Brit. A list of his writings is given in the article.

he was likely to succeed in his first design of writing.”¹ Somewhat earlier, the same writer says the “Jacobites now drank to the Protestant succession, upon hopes the Pretender was to be converted by Mr. Leslie.”^m So that at one time all the Nonjurors were Papists ; at another, they were labouring to convert the Pretender to Protestantism.

The case of a youth, Ambrose Bonwicke, son of a Nonjuror of the same name, may be adduced as an illustration of the force of those feelings, by which the Nonjurors were actuated. This youth was born in 1691 : in 1702 he was sent to Merchant Taylor’s School. In 1709, though captain of the school, he lost his election to St. John’s College, Oxford, in consequence of his Nonjuring scruples. The head scholars were accustomed to read the prayers, which were daily used in the school, and which were taken from the Liturgy. The first Collect for the King in the Communion Service was one of the Prayers selected for daily use. This Collect young Bonwicke scrupled to read. Efforts were used in vain to terrify him out of his scruples : for he was resolved to make any sacrifice rather than violate his conscience. At the election, therefore, in 1710, he was told that his qualifications marked him out for election ; but he was asked why he did not read the usual prayers.

¹ Wisdom of Looking Backward, 333, 334.

^m Ibid. 225. It must strike persons as strange, yet such was the fact, that Leslie’s “*Method with the Deists*” was actually charged as *Popish*. It was attacked in a work with the following title : “*A Detection of the true Meaning and wicked Design of a book entitled ‘A plain and easy Method with the Deists.’ Wherein is proved that the Author’s four marks are the marks of the Beast, and are calculated only for the cause and service of Popery,*” 8vo. London, 1710.

His reply was, "Sir, I could not do it." The master applauded the youth for his honesty, but expressed his sorrow at the loss of his election. The disappointment was cheerfully borne. He subsequently entered at Cambridge, but was cut off by an early death in the year 1714-15.^a

After Hickes's death, Collier was, undoubtedly, the most able man of the party, and continued to be their leader, until the body separated into two sections, in consequence of the controversy respecting the *Usages*. Collier was prepared to uphold the separation at all hazards: consequently in the year 1716, Henry Gandy and Thomas Brett were consecrated to the episcopal office by Collier, Spinkes, and Hawes.

Gandy was the author of several works in this controversy, and appears to have been as strenuous in his views as any one of the party. But the circumstances connected with Brett are very remarkable. He was ordained in the year 1690, at which time he entertained some scruples respecting the Oaths. He saw that the Tories, who had sworn allegiance to King James, took the Oath to William and Mary. He had never taken an Oath to James, and therefore he was not hampered by any preceding engagements. On becoming acquainted soon after with Gery, he imbibed that gentleman's views. The pupil, however, proceeded much farther than the instructor: for the latter died Vicar of Islington in 1707, while the former became a Nonjuror.^o After taking the Oath

^a Nichols, v. 120, 121, 156.

^o I have a copy of Tertullian's work, *De Pallio*, with the following words written on the fly-leaf, in the handwriting of Brett: "*Tho. Brett Liber ex Dono Reverendi Georgii Gery, Vicarii De Islington. A. D. 1694.*"

of Allegiance several times, his scruples became so strong, and especially after the trial of Sacheverell, that he quitted the National Church. In considering the proceedings connected with that memorable trial, he came to the conclusion, that he had committed an error in taking the Oaths: and he soon resolved not to take them again. Still he did not scruple for some time to pray for the Queen, nor to remain in the Church. But on the accession of George I, when all persons holding offices were compelled to take the Oaths afresh, he found, that he could not comply, and wrote to the Archbishop to that effect.^p His Grace very kindly requested him to pause. He, therefore, remained in the Church, until his non-compliance with the order for taking the Oath vacated his post. For a time he continued to attend his parish church as a private person; and it is probable, that he might have continued to do so, but for the interference of Hickes, who, hearing of his scruples, persuaded him to cease to communicate with, or attend the worship of, the National Church. He was admitted into the Nonjuring communion July 1, 1715, according to a Penitential Form prepared especially for such occasions. The year after, he was consecrated a Bishop. He was accustomed, like many other Nonjurors, to officiate privately in his own house. His literary labours were very numerous, and

^p It appears to have been the Oath of Abjuration, rather than that of Allegiance, which led to his scruples. The Lord Chief Baron Gilbert had many conversations with him on the subject, with a view to bringing him over to Whig principles: but a contrary effect was produced, for he became still more fixed in those which he had imbibed. It is said, that he read Dodwell's tracts in favour of communion with the National Church, but that he was not convinced by the arguments.

all of them were distinguished for great ability and extensive learning. Brett was once presented at the assizes for holding a conventicle in his house: but an Act of Indemnity rescued him from the penalties. He afterwards spent his time between Faversham and Canterbury, in which places he had congregations.⁹ Unquestionably the Nonjurors made a wise and judicious choice in selecting Brett as a Bishop. The choice was made probably at the desire of Hickes, though he died before the consecration.

Before we enter upon the controversies of this period, a few remarks may be offered on the Rebellion of 1715. The Nonjurors, properly so called, those, who sacrificed all their prospects, rather than take the Oaths, were generally quiet and peaceable men: and though attached to King James, they did not make any attempt towards the restoration of his family. Of those who were implicated in the Rebellion, many had taken the Oaths, while others, from not occupying any public station, had not been called upon to make their decision. The fact, that some of the individuals, who were implicated, professed Nonjuring principles at the time of execution, is no proof that the body were involved in that attempt. Very few, if any, of the actual Nonjurors were concerned. Thus Mr. Paul asked forgiveness of God, on the scaffold, for having taken Oaths in favour of what he termed a usurpation. He avowed himself a member of the Nonjuring Church, as a party separate from the National Church. "You see by my habit, that I die a son, though a very unworthy one, of the Church of England: but I would not have you think, that I am a member of the schis-

⁹ Nichols, i. 408, 409.

matical Church, whose Bishops set themselves up in opposition to those orthodox fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of Orange: I declare that I renounce that communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful member of the Nonjuring Church, which has kept itself free from rebellion and schism: and I desire the Clergy, and all members of the Revolution Church, to consider what bottom they stand upon, when their succession is grounded upon an unlawful and invalid deprivation of Catholic Bishops: the only foundation of which deprivation is a pretended Act of Parliament." He added: "the Revolution, instead of keeping out Popery, has let in Atheism." Mr. Hall, another sufferer, though not a clergyman, made a similar declaration. "I declare that I die a true and sincere member of the Church of England: but not of the Revolution schismatical Church, whose Bishops have so shamefully given up the rights of the Church, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay-deprivations of the Prince of Orange. The community I die in, is that of the true Catholic Nonjuring Church of England."^r

The case of Shephard, a youth only eighteen years of age, excited much attention, and led many persons to think, that unnecessary severity was exercised by the government. At almost any other period, the

^r See A Collection of Dying Speeches of those People called Traytors, executed in this reign. From Colonel Henry Oxburgh to the late Mr. James Shephard. To which is added, some of the Speeches left by the like sort of People executed in Former Times. By comparing which, it will appear that it has been the practice of most times for men to justify their own conduct on all occasions, even to the last. 8vo. 1718. Calamy's Life, vol. ii. 357, 358.

youth would have been confined, on the ground of insanity : but the government permitted his execution to take place. Mr. Orme, a Nonjuring clergyman, attended him on the scaffold.

At this period the Nonjuring Clergy were subjected to much hardship in consequence of the Rebellion : for the Oaths were tendered afresh to all suspected persons. Those who refused were committed to prison : while several magistrates were removed from the commission for what was deemed undue leniency in imposing the Oaths.* In many cases, uncalled for severity was exercised. Individuals were even punished for wearing white roses, which were considered as badges of the Pretender's. With what strange feelings must such a passage as the following be read ! " Two soldiers whipped almost to death in Hyde Park, and turned out of the service, for wearing oak boughs in their hats the 29th of May."† Dr. Welton, who had been deprived of the Rectory of Whitechapel, and who had assembled together about 250 Nonjurors in a private house for divine service, was surprised by the magistrates. Mr. Hawkes, another clergyman, officiated for some time in his own house opposite to St. James's Palace ; but because he omitted the name of the King, in reading the Common Prayer, he was fined under the Conventicle Act.‡

The Nonjurors were at this time deterred, by these severities, from defending their principles by means of the press. Some few, however, ventured to stand forward, though they were generally subjected to punishment. Laurence Howell, so well

* Salmon's Chron. His. ii. 56.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. 69, 78, 83.

known in the learned world, appeared as a controversialist on behalf of his party. Some crown messengers, searching for a paper called "*The Shift Shifted*," discovered in the printing office a book intitled, "*The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly Stated*," by Howell, who was committed to Newgate for the offence. He naturally argued, that the complying Clergy were schismatics.^w Redmayne, the printer, was indicted for printing the book, which was denominated a libel: and Dalton was fined, imprisoned, and sentenced to the pillory, for printing the *Shift Shifted*.^x Howell was tried and convicted at the Old Bailey, being sentenced to a fine of £500, three years imprisonment, to be whipped, and to be degraded and stripped of his gown by the hands of the public executioner. He asked, "Who will whip a clergyman?" but the Court replied: "We pay no deference to your cloth, because you are a disgrace to it, and have no right to wear it: besides, we do not look upon you as a clergyman, in that you have produced no proof of your ordination, but from Dr. Hickes, under the denomination of the Bishop of Thetford: which is illegal and not according to the constitution of this kingdom, which has no such Bishop." The executioner was ordered to pull off his gown at the bar, which was accordingly done. The pamphlet was probably intended only for private sale or gratuitous distribution. All his papers were seized by order of the government, among which were his *Letters of Orders* from Dr. Hickes, dated 1712, and also *The Form of Absolution and Reception of Converts*. The *Letters of Orders* were thus expressed: "Tenore Præsentium, Nos Georgius

^w Calamy's Life, ii. 358.

^x Salmon, ii. 68.

Hickes, permissione divinâ Episcopus Suffraganeus Thetfordiensis, notum facimus universis, quod nos præfectus Episcopus, in Oratorio Nostro, in Parochiâ Sancti Andreæ Holbourn in comitatu Middlesex, sacros ordines, præsidio divino celebrantes, Dilectum Nobis, in Christo Laurentium Howell, A.M., de vitæ suæ probitate morumque integritate nobis sufficienti Testimonio Commendatum, et sacrarum literarum cognitione et scientia laudabiliter institutum, et per nostrum examinatore[m] nobis approbatum, ad sacrum Presbyteratûs ordinem, juxta morem et consuetudinem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in hac parte salubriter editam et provisam, admisimus et promovimus: ipsumque instituimus et ordinavimus tunc et ibidem. In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum Nostrum Episcopale præsentibus apponi fecimus, secundo die Mensis Octobris, Annoque Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo Duodecimo, Nostræque Consecrationis 18^o Georgius Hickes.”^y

In the year 1716, a most sarcastic attack on the defenders of the Revolution was published, professing to give extracts from Burnet and Kennet. “Since the lawfulness of the Revolution,” says the writer, “on which his Majesty’s title is founded, is questioned by some, and condemned by others, it is thought convenient at this juncture to lay in one view an account of the principles on which it is established.” Burnet had said, that James’s ambassador “pressed the Pope to admit the King to mediate between the courts of Rome and Versailles, and said that when that was brought about, the two Kings would effectually serve the Church, and begin with the destruction of Holland. This the Pope told

^y Nichols, i. 31, 32; 105, 106. Noble. Salmon, ii. 70.

to the head of the imperial faction at Rome, who wrote it to the Emperor, and the Emperor wrote to the Prince of Orange." The writer remarks upon this, "what can justify the Prince, if King James's and the French King's design to ruin them and their religion cannot? Or what better authorities could they have for the truth of it, than the Pope and the Emperor to prevent it, by informing the Prince of Orange what danger the Protestant religion was in? Which will undoubtedly be secure for the future, since the Pope is against the growth of Popery, and the Emperor become guardian of the Protestant religion." He adds: "in short, some body told some body, that the King of France and King James were for introducing Popery: to prevent which, the Pope, the Emperor, the Prince of Orange, the Dutch and English, abdicate King James, and enter into an alliance to make the King of France submit to the Pope's authority." In the same strain, after quoting some passages from Burnet's early writings, in which the resolving of all power into the people is attributed to the assertors of the Pope's deposing power, he remarks: "and now with what face can any Papist be for the Pretender? Or how can the Pretender claim the crown, if a Papist? We see it was by a Popish principle and a Pope's advice that King James was deposed; and therefore the Pretender must either protest against his infallibility and supremacy, which is in effect to turn Protestant; or allow the justice of the Revolution, which is to destroy his own pretensions to the crown."

The writer then specifies some of the advantages, which the Pope gained by the Revolution. One was the abrogation of the Oath of Supremacy: secondly, an alliance formed against France. Pro-

ceeding in a sarcastic strain, he quotes from Kennet, relative to the alliance, that the Emperor and King William would make no peace "with Louis XIV till he has made reparation to the Holy See, and till he annul all those infamous proceedings against the Holy Father Innocent XI." He closes thus: "the Dutch were well paid for sending us a King: the Prince of Orange got a crown: and we above twenty years ruinous war: the establishment of Presbytery on the ruins of Episcopacy in Scotland: and in the Church of England a woful schism and a succession of prudent, pious Protestant Princes: together with a free parliament: an impartial distribution of justice, and a glorious prospect for us and our posterity: every way answering the merits of an *English Revolution*, a *Scotch Reformation*, and an *Hanover succession*." ^z

Welton's feelings, while Rector of Whitechapel, in favour of the exiled family were not concealed. He became obnoxious to censure in consequence of an Altar Piece, a representation of the last Supper, which was placed in his church. White Kennet had written an answer to Sacheverell's Sermon, *Perils among False Brethren*, which, with several other publications, had rendered him very obnoxious to the Nonjurors. In the picture in Welton's Church, Kennet's portrait was inserted for Judas Iscariot. It is said, that the sketch was intended for Burnet, but that an action at law being apprehended, the

^z A Short History and Vindication of the Revolution, collected out of the Writings of the Learned Bishop Burnet and Dr. Kennet. 12mo. London. Printed in the year 1716. This is a short tract of only eight pages, the authorship of which I am unable to determine.

likeness of Kennet was substituted for that of the Bishop. Crowds flocked daily to the Church to examine the picture : so that the Bishop of London interposed, and the Altar Piece was removed. In 1710 Welton preached a sermon, which induced the government to interfere, and he was removed from his living.^a From a contemporary publication, we learn, that some persons imagined, that the picture of St. John was intended to represent the Chevalier St. George. Welton published a sermon in defence of his conduct, giving in the preface an account of the proceedings connected with the removal of the Altar Piece.^b After his deprivation Welton preached to a Nonjuring congregation.

It is evident, that the rash conduct of some few of the Nonjurors involved the whole body in difficulties. They were regarded by the government as enemies. Some persons even have alleged, that they were more active at the period of the Rebellion, in disseminating their principles, than they had been for several years. Thus we are told, “the controversy of the new schism made a much greater noise upon the late tumults and rebellion, than it had ever done since the filling of the deprived sees by King William : and the Jacobite conventicles were more frequented in the cities of London and Westminster : and Priests of that way were sent down to gather the like congregations in country towns : and many of the high folk, especially the women, seemed to come to the

^a Noble. Soloman against Welton, or that Prince's Authority brought against the Insolence of the White Chapel Priest. Being a Defence of the Resistance made to the late King James, &c. by way of Remark on the Dr's. Sermon. 8vo. London, 1710. Nichols's Lit. Anec. i. 397.

^b Wisdom of Looking Backwards, 347, 360-63.

parochial churches in and about London, for the sake of their pews and their cloaths, rather than for conformity to the public worship. For they would not join in any part of the Prayers for King George, and his royal family, but at the mention of those names, they would rise up or sit down, or, at least, express their dissent in some visible manner." This statement must be taken with certain deductions, for the writer usually traduces the Nonjurors. The following extract exhibits the character of the writer's own principles. "In the mean time too many of the Church clergy, though offended with Dr. Hickes for urging a separation from Parochial Churches, yet they gave in very much to the principles, upon which that practice was founded, viz. *The Independency* of the Church from the State, the more than spiritual power of the Church." ^c Such a man could scarcely form an impartial judgment of the Nonjurors, when he had conceived such views of the complying Clergy.

Still, few of the actual Nonjurors were implicated in the Rebellion. This statement is fully supported by contemporary writings. The following passage is so pertinent, that no apology is needed for its insertion. "The principles, on which the legality of the present establishment is maintained, are, I think, but improperly made a part of the present quarrel, which divides the nation. There are but few, who have not precluded themselves on this point: those I mean, who have had courage and plainness enough to own their sense and to forego the advantages, either of birth or education, rather than give a false security to the government, which under their pre-

^c Life of Kennet, 161, 162.

sent persuasion they could not make good. To these I have nothing more to say, than to wish them what I think they well deserve, a better cause : but to us, who had bound ourselves by previous oaths and obligations in the most solemn manner in the world, the accession of his Majesty could administer no occasion of reconsidering this question : there was nothing new required of us : we had no faith to give which was not already plighted, and bound upon our souls by the most sacred engagements.”^d This is honourable testimony from a candid man : and may be regarded as conclusive evidence, that the actual Nonjurors, with few exceptions, were not implicated in this Rebellion.

After the suppression of the Rebellion, several important works, of a controversial character, were published, both by the Nonjurors and by their opponents. These productions require a particular notice ; for the very history of the Nonjurors is bound up as it were with their controversies. It appears, that the advocates of the government entered afresh on the controversy, after the suppression of the Rebellion. Two works in particular made a great noise at the time, namely, one by Bennet, and the other by Hoadley.

It would appear that at this time the Nonjurors were in some danger, probably from being suspected of consenting to the recent Rebellion, in favour of the son of King James. Most of them were quiet and peaceable men : and it was harsh on the part of the government to subject them to such treatment. It

^d Sherlock's Sermon before the Commons on the day of Thanksgiving for Suppressing the Rebellion. 8vo. London, 1716, pp. 19, 20.

certainly was not the way to bring them over to take the Oaths. We find that many of their works of this period were published without the name of the printer, a method resorted to undoubtedly for the purpose of concealment. The feelings of the government must have been very sore against the Nonjurors, for Bennet closes his preface with the following notification :

“ If any person shall think it unsafe for him to publish an answer to this tract, I entreat him to send his papers to me, by such a way as he shall choose, (with this single hint, that the parcel comes from an unknown hand) and I do solemnly promise, that if they are written as becomes a Christian and a scholar, (of which such Nonjurors shall be judges as their brethren will readily confide in) I will make no inquiry after the author : but in a reasonable space of time, will either return him thanks for confuting me, or else reply in such a manner that he shall have no reason to complain of my misrepresenting his sense, or injuring his arguments.”^e

It is clear from this notice that great severity was practised towards the Nonjurors ; and that they could not openly appear in defence of their principles.

Bennet's work may be regarded, as expressive of the views of a large body of the members of the Church of England on the subjects at issue between them and the Nonjurors. His aim was to prove them guilty of schism on their own principles. At this time, the chief differences between the Church

^e The Nonjurors' Separation from the Public Assemblies of the Church of England examined, and proved to be Schismatical on their own Principles : by Tho. Bennet, D. D. 8vo. London, 1716, p. 2.

and the Nonjurors related to the Oaths. Thus Bennet, speaking of the Nonjurors' assemblies, states that "the *Book of Common Prayer* is used (excepting some passages relating to our present temporal governors)." We learn also from this work, that many remained in the communion of the national Church, who did not take the Oaths to the ruling sovereign.

To bring the dispute within a narrow compass, the author fixes upon the diocese of London. His first position is, that Compton, who was Bishop of the diocese at the Revolution, continued rightful Bishop as long as he lived: that he neither ceased to be its Bishop by resignation nor deprivation. He allows it to be granted that the Revolution was unjustifiable: and that the successors to the deprived Bishops were schismatical intruders: but even then he argues, that Compton remained the rightful Bishop of the diocese of London. In his *third* chapter he meets the objection, that Compton contracted the contagion of schism by recognizing the successors of the deprived Bishops, and that all who communicated with the Bishop of London were involved in the same guilt. The *fifth* chapter is occupied with the consideration of an objection derived from the second canon of 1603, in which it is enacted that a denial of the King's supremacy exposes the party to an *ipso facto* excommunication. Bennet shews that no such excommunication is of any effect, until a sentence declaratory is given. He then argues, that they separated from Compton, setting up an altar against that which already existed, and that consequently they are guilty of schism. He meets the objection, derived from the alleged immoral prayers, much in the same way as Dodwell and Nelson did, on their return to the communion of the National Church. He reminds the

Nonjurors, however, that they had attended the public Churches from the Revolution until 1691, a space of two years and six months, when the Bishops were deprived for refusing to take the Oaths. He infers, that they did not join in the prayers for William and Mary, and that, therefore, they did not consider, that those petitions were imposed as terms of communion. He also mentions that many Nonjurors were at that time worshipping in the National Church: so that they could not regard the prayers in question as terms of communion.

In the last chapter he applies the principle, which he had previously confined to London, to the rest of England.

“As for those dioceses whose Bishops were deprived, whatever might have been pleaded, whilst the deprived Bishops themselves were alive; yet since that personal contest is at an end, and the schism of co-ordination is thereby perfectly ceased, (because the deprived Bishops themselves are dead; and those who were consecrated by the deprived ones, or derive their succession from them, do not pretend to be other than suffragans) therefore those Bishops that have been elected and consecrated, and publicly and unanimously received and owned by their comprovincials, as Bishops of those once controverted sees, are now, by all the rules of ecclesiastical discipline, the only lawful Bishops of them: nor indeed is there any other claimant in opposition to them. And therefore separation from their communion is undoubtedly schismatical, there being no just cause for it.

“Whether those suffragans who were consecrated by the Nonjuring Bishops, or derive their succession from them, have now any power in those dioceses, for which ('tis presumed) they were consecrated, their

principals may inquire and determine, if they judge it proper so to do. But if those suffragans have any power at all, I am sure it must be exercised in due subordination to their principals. Otherwise 'tis notoriously schismatical, even within the bounds of the several dioceses they were intended to officiate in."^f

Bennet had written with much force against the Dissenters, proving them to be guilty of schism in separating from a pure branch of the Catholic Church; and upon the appearance of the preceding publication, Peirce, who had been long employed in controversy, wrote some strictures on the work. He attempts to show, that such principles, as were admitted by Bennet, were sufficient to justify any separation. However it is clear that Peirce only rejoiced in the divisions among Churchmen. One fact is incidentally mentioned by him, which is somewhat curious and not without interest, namely, that Hickes's consecration was not generally known till seventeen years after it had taken place.^g

Hoadley also appeared against the Nonjurors in a work of a different description from that of Bennet.^h He was one of those latitudinarian Churchmen, by

^f Bennet, pp. 61. 62.

^g A Letter to Dr. Bennet, occasioned by his late Treatise concerning the Nonjurors' Separation, &c.: by James Peirce, 8vo. 1717, p. 52. The first public intimation of Hickes's consecration appears to have been given in the collection of papers published in 1716. Kennet's Life, p. 160. The fact, however, was known to many.

^h A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors both in Church and State. Or an Appeal to the Consciences and Common Sense of the Christian Laity: by the Right Reverend Father in God, Benjamin, Lord Bishop of Bangor, 8vo. 1716.

whom the Church has been occasionally afflicted. So far from supporting, Hoadley broached principles, in many of his publications, which tended to weaken and destroy the Church. One work, that on *Conformity*, must be excepted from this condemnation : but most of his other productions are obnoxious to the very serious charge above mentioned. His “*Preservative*” was one of the most obnoxious ; but his works served to recommend him to the Whig Ministry, and to pave his way to the episcopal bench. In the “*Preservative*,” he defends the exercise of the power of the State in depriving the Nonjuring Bishops and Clergy of their preferments. It is intimated at the commencement, that, at this time, the Nonjurors were particularly active in putting forth their claims. Hoadley thinks, moreover, that too much forbearance had been exercised towards them : yet they had less liberty than Dissenters, who were permitted to assail the Church of England, and to traduce the Nonjurors. It must be evident, when the Nonjurors were scarcely allowed to defend themselves through the press, that any thing but forbearance was manifested by the government. Hoadley’s work contained so much of what was unsound, that several of its positions were censured by the Lower House of Convocation.ⁱ

Some very important works were also published about this time by the Nonjurors. A posthumous work of Hickes’s among others made its appearance, a work frequently alluded to by their opponents. This volume was sent forth to the public by some of Hickes’s friends. It contains answers to all the arguments, which were urged against them by those who attacked their principles. Prefixed to the work

ⁱ See the Author’s History of the Convocation, pp. 375, 376.

is an account of the various papers, of which it consists, by the publisher : from which it appears, that soon after the deprivations, Hickes entered upon certain conferences with a Serjeant at Law respecting the recent events, especially with reference to Church communion. The Serjeant puts a question, whether it is lawful to communicate with a Church, that prays for an usurper, which is answered in the negative. Hickes even condemns being present in such congregations : alleging, that, if it were lawful to be present, it would be necessary to protest publicly, against what he calls the rebellious prayers. He further declares, that if any Bishops are deprived by such powers, the people are bound in conscience to adhere to the sufferers. The Serjeant asks whether a public refusal to own the usurper be not sufficient : but Hickes decides as before against being present at such assemblies, and condemns remaining on the knees, though the individuals join not in the petitions.

In another Letter, the Author submits to the Serjeant forty propositions concerning the Constitution of the Catholic Church, observing that they are laid down in a mathematical method, " wherein what follows is the consequent of what goes before." Church power of the most exalted kind is asserted in these propositions : that kings cease to be members of the spiritual corporation by excommunication, heresy, or apostacy : that in divisions the lawful society is in the lawful head, and the members who adhere to him, though the smaller number, and in every diocese in the rightful Bishops as the principle of unity : that kings obtain nothing by baptism, but a stronger obligation to defend the Church, and that they are equally subjects of the Church : that the

union of Church and State is broken when the latter persecutes the former, which takes place whenever the temporal powers persecute the spiritual: that it is the duty of the people to adhere to deprived Bishops. He asserts, therefore, that such deprivations as those of the Nonjuring Bishops were unlawful: and that their successors had no power. He adds: "The true Church regent, or College of Bishops in England depending upon it, are both in the little and faithful suffering number, and will be in those who regularly succeed them in the royal priesthood to the end of the world."

The Serjeant remarked on the severity of the propositions as involving all the nation, except a very few, in Schism. Hickes replies, that he is not more severe than the Ancient Fathers, and refers to the notes on the Propositions. Other testimonies are also added. He says, principles are rigid things: "They are like *glass drops*, you may easily break them, but you cannot bend them." Farther, the Serjeant objected the small number of the deprived Bishops: to which Hickes replies, that the controversy is one of right and wrong, not of faith. He reminds the Serjeant of his own wish, that all had been deprived, though the case would have been the same had one only been subjected to deprivation.

On the title page of the volume the letter R was affixed to the word *Reverend*; so that the style of a Bishop was thus awarded to Hickes: and though his consecration was, as I have previously remarked, known to many, if not to all the Nonjurors; yet this seems to have been the first public intimation of the fact. The Publisher mentions the particulars of the consecration by Turner, White, and Lloyd: and argues, that no man was more qualified to answer the

objections against the appointment of successors to the deprived Bishops. The Publisher further mentions, that the forty propositions had been printed at the end of "*The Character of a Primitive Bishop*," though in an imperfect state, and that many copies had been circulated in the life-time of the Author.^k His arguments need not be largely entered into, since they are similar with those, to which we have previously referred in the works consequent on Dodwell's and Nelson's return to the National Church. One passage, however, respecting *Anti-Bishops* is remarkable. He makes several kinds of Anti-Bishops, some being so by usurpation, others by professing false doctrines, others in both these respects. Alluding to the second sort he says, "such Anti-Bishops are also the Popish Bishops, now in all parts of the world, to the reformed Bishops, more particularly in Ireland."¹ This is a strong assertion, and confutes

^k In one Letter to the Serjeant, Hickes had submitted twenty-three propositions concerning the Constitution of the Catholic Church. These he enlarged to forty in a subsequent Letter. In the year 1710 a Tract appeared under the following title: "*The High Church Catechism, with Hickes's Thirty-Nine Articles*." The number of propositions was forty; but the Author of this Tract omits the seventeenth altogether, making the eighteenth take its place, thus reducing the number to thirty-nine, merely for the purpose, as is evident, of insinuating, that Hickes wished to substitute them instead of the Articles of the Anglican Church. The preface to the Tract shews, that the writer was an enemy, not only to the Nonjurors, but also to the Church of England. His omission of one of the propositions, for the purpose of making the number correspond with the Articles of the Anglican Church, was a dishonest attempt to blacken the character of a pious and learned man.

¹ The Constitution of the Catholic Church and the Nature and Consequences of Schism, set forth in a collection of Papers written by the late R. Reverend George Hickes, D. D. 8vo. Printed in the year 1716.

the notion that Hickes had a leaning towards Rome. He classes the revolution Bishops under the third head, making them usurpers and maintainers of false doctrines. The false doctrines are the doctrine of resistance and the validity of lay-deprivations. He says, "before I proceed to insist upon the Prayers, I must apply what I have said of doctrines : and take the freedom to tell you, that the Bishops to whose altar you are going, are still Anti-Bishops (viz. in the second sense, upon the score of damnable and dangerous doctrines) to those, whom it is said our deprived fathers left behind them to succeed them, not as diocesan but Catholic successors, or as Catholic Bishops in a nation overrun with schism as well as rebellion : in which capacity, as Catholic Bishops, they acted out of their dioceses all their time in confirming, ordaining,"^m &c. He then enters on the question of the Prayers ; but as this point has been so fully discussed already, it need not be enlarged upon further. The Bishops, who complied at the Revolution and had been continued in their sees, are set aside on the ground of being partakers of the guilt of the intruders, by making themselves one body with them.

It is, however, important to see how Hickes justifies the Nonjurors against the arguments of Dodwell and Nelson, relative to the new consecrations. It was argued, that the new consecrations were void, because there was no notification, or that their claims were waived. Hickes pleads in answer the state of the times, and asks whether the want of notification is a waiving of claims, when such an act would involve the ruin of the party ; and whether the notification to their Presbyters and laity, as there is occa-

^m Constitution of the Catholic Church, &c. pp. 173, 205.

sion, is not sufficient. He argues, too, that consecrations performed by one Bishop, when more cannot be obtained, are valid. The want of public registers had also been alleged; but this objection is met, by a reference to the state of things from 1640 to 1660, during which period many were ordained by the deposed Bishops, and also to the Church of Scotland at that time. Bp. Ken's non-concurrence in the new consecrations was also pleaded against their validity: but Hickes answers, that a synod is composed of the majority of the Bishops of the province, and that the minority, however large, are concluded by their decision. His assertion that Ken had consented by letter to Turner has been previously noticed. He contends, that the rights of the deprived Bishops could not devolve on those, who were in possession of the sees, and whom he calls intruders. He strongly urges, that the allowing of lay-deprivations and resistance is a heresy, which he charges upon what he terms the revolution Church. The publisher, however, in the preface, says, "wherever in this book he shall find schismatical ordinations called *null and invalid*, he is not to suppose that the author meant *null and invalid in themselves*, so as to require a new ordination, but *null and invalid as to any spiritual purposes*, so that the person thus schismatically ordained cannot by virtue of those orders do any sacerdotal act, till he returns to the Church, and has his orders confirmed: and whatever ministrations he performs during his schism are of no *use* or *profit* to the persons who receive them, till they also come over to the Church." The publisher states: "Whenever he performed that part of his episcopal office of receiving a penitent schismatical Clergyman into our communion, he never required that he should be

reordained, but only that his orders should be confirmed. And this continues to be the practice of our Church since it pleased God to take him out of this troublesome world, and remove him into a better." The publisher, therefore, was a Nonjuror.

Another considerable work appeared about the same time, in opposition to the Nonjurors, from the pen of Nathaniel Marshall; so that, if they, as Hoadley intimates, were particularly active, their opponents were no less vigilant in labouring to counteract their efforts.ⁿ

Both Hoadley and Marshall refer to what they term an attack on the Church of England, on the part of the Nonjurors. They evidently allude to the charge of heresy and schism, which was alleged against the Anglican Church in Hickes's "*Constitution of the Catholic Church*:" and Hoadley and Marshall, though in different ways, undertook to repel the charge. Hickes's papers, however, contain no charge that had not been adduced before; yet some of the Clergy acted, as though it were then brought forward for the first time. To Hickes's work, therefore, are to be attributed Hoadley's Preservative and Marshall's Defence, two of the most celebrated productions of this period against the Nonjurors.^o

ⁿ A Defence of our Constitution in Church and State: or an Answer to the late Charge of the Nonjurors, accusing us of heresy and schism, popery and treason: with an Appendix of several Papers never before published: by Nath. Marshall, LL. B. 8vo. London, 1717. The Appendix contains Sancroft's commission to Lloyd: Hickes's opinion respecting joining in worship, supposed to be immoral in some of its offices: and several letters of Dodwell, Nelson, and Brokesby, written after the death of Lloyd.

^o Many who wrote against the Nonjurors objected to Hoadley's principles. The following may serve as an instance: "What

Marshall enters into a defence of the deprivations subsequent to the Revolution, as Hoadley had done just before, though his method of handling the subject is different from the Bishop's. In many respects Marshall's is a valuable work : and may be regarded as the best defence against the charges alleged by the Nonjurors. The author was a man of erudition and piety : and he will be ever held in estimation in the Church for two most able and learned works, the *Translation of Cyprian's Works*, and *The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church*. His *Defence* is written with much moderation. It appears too, that he had lived on terms of intimacy with Hickes down to the period of his death. He alludes to the fact, that when the *Depriving Act* passed, none of the Bishops, who were subsequently subjected to its operation, were present in Parliament to enter their protest against the proceedings : and because none of the complying Prelates opposed the Bill, he infers their consent to the deprivations of

shall I say to those of my brethren who have formed a new separation. I cannot with the Bishop of Bangor admire the long and extraordinary lenity of the government to them : much less can I think that he (though he has plundered Hobbes, and Locke, and Sydney, and the authors of the rights of the Christian Church) has said any thing that may convince men of the Christian nature of revolution principles. I am satisfied that they refused to take the Oaths proposed to them out of a true principle of conscience : and because they knew of no Prince, Prelate, or Presbyter who could absolve them from the Oath of Allegiance and supremacy, which they had taken to their lawful Sovereign. It was not a factious, hypocritical, treasonable covenant, which they held up as a shield against the new Oaths : but it was the obligation of a lawful Oath, and imposed by law : and none can pretend there was any thing in it contrary to the law of God, or the practice of the first and purest Christians." Milbourne's *Legacy*, ii. 333, 334.

their brethren.^p This mode of reasoning, however, is disingenuous. At that time the Bishops, who scrupled the Oath, considered it to be their duty to suffer in silence: nor can they be charged with inconsistency in so doing: while the Prelates, who were present, could not, by any act of theirs, give an ecclesiastical sanction to a proceeding against their brethren. Hickes had stated, in his *Constitution of the Catholic Church*, that the deprived Bishops had left behind them certain persons to succeed them, not as *diocesan*, but as *Catholic successors*: and Marshall contends that such a procedure was unsanctioned by the practice of the early Church.^q Alluding to the charge of *Immoral Prayers*, the author remarks, that the deprived Bishops did not, by any authentic act, claim the obedience of their ecclesiastical subjects for several years after their deprivation: and that the Nonjurors communicated, long after the filling up of the vacant sees, with those whom they now deemed schismatics. He admits, however, that they did not use the prayers, against which the charge was preferred. Hickes himself, he states, had communicated with members of the National Church, who were now charged with schism.^r He mentions also that one of the consecrators of Hickes, as late as 1697, administered the Lord's Supper to a lady, supposed to be upon her deathbed, a member of the Church of England, who asked the Bishop

^p Marshall's Defence, p. 12.

^q Ibid. pp. 32, 33.

^r He assures us also that ten years before Hickes agreed, that the immorality of the prayers was not a sufficient reason for avoiding the communion of the National Church. He is, however, mistaken in some of his statements. Sancroft, for example, never held communion with the National Church after his deprivation. The statements are denied by Earbury. Marshall, 181.

respecting her safety in that Church. His reply was “*For that, child, my soul be with yours.*” Marshall’s object is to prove an inconsistency between their former practice, and the charge of schism, which was now generally alleged by the Nonjurors against the National Church.^s

Marshall seems to intimate, that Sancroft acted inconsistently in appointing a commission to act in his name before his suspension; but a most ample defence may be set up for the Archbishop. This was indeed well done by Earbery, who thus meets the case: “I cannot see that the Archbishop acted inconsistently in this commission, his seeming to acquiesce in the Prince of Orange’s making use of the regale was justifiable, provided he looked upon him as an usurper: because it did not imply an acknowledgment of the Prince of Orange’s title, but only a tacit concordate made to let him enjoy the privilege of nominating to sees, provided he offered no injury to the rights of the Church: ’tis no necessary consequence that the Church should be overturned with the state. Archbishop Sancroft, if prayers had not been forced into Churches, which he could not comply with, and if no state deprivations had followed, in all probability would have acquiesced with having even Dr. Burnet imposed upon the Church; if it would have prevented the schism.”^t It is clear, as has been remarked repeatedly in the course of our narrative, that if the Oath had not been enforced, no

^s Marshall’s Defence, 162, 163.

^t A serious Admonition to Dr. Kennet in order to persuade him to forbear the Character of an impartial Historian, &c. To which is added, A short but compleat Answer to Mr. Marshall’s late Treatise called “A Defence,” &c. By Matthias Earbery, Presbyter of the Church of England, p. 122.

separation would have taken place. Earbery also meets the remark, that the Bishops never entered any claim of right. He asks whether, if they had done so, Marshall would have conceded any thing in their favour: and then he urges their conduct as sufficient evidence of their claims.

One point is stated by Marshall with much effect, namely, that the deprived Bishops could not act in other dioceses, whatever may have been the case in their own. Had they not been deprived, they could not have exercised jurisdiction in other dioceses: much less could they do so after deprivation. "At least," he says, "their first trial should have been with their own Clergy and people, before they had made any efforts elsewhere. They should have begun at *home*, before they had attempted anything abroad. And because antiquity is so much and so often appealed to in this debate; I do likewise lodge my appeal with antiquity upon this head of argument; and do challenge any man to produce an instance thence, which shall be favourable to the practice of our Nonjurors. There is not, I will be bold to affirm, any one example of an ancient Bishop, invalidly, or incompetently deprived, and insisting upon his personal rights; who ever pretended to translate those rights from his local district, and to claim the exercise of them in any other. No! The course was then, for such a Bishop, to retain as many of his own flock as he could in his interest, and to secure the continuance of his colleagues in it: but never to stroll about and gather a church out of another diocese, in opposition to its proper Bishop." Marshall then remarks, that the chief efforts of the Nonjurors were confined to London, a diocese which

had not become vacant by deprivation."ⁿ It appears, however, that the Nonjurors acted on the grant of Sancroft to Lloyd, to exercise Archiepiscopal powers. On this ground alone could they pretend to a jurisdiction in other dioceses, except those which became vacant by deprivation.

Earbery, alluding to Marshall's statement respecting Sancroft, says: "The Archbishop was so far from being an admirer of the Church, that he never came into it alive or dead, but lies now exposed to storms and tempests, as he was in his life." He mentions the remark of Sancroft respecting Absolution, as a proof that Marshall is not correct, in stating that no public separation occurred until 1694. Earbery has the following severe observations on Kennet and Marshall, at the close of his work. "Dr. Kennet set out young in the world with full resolutions to make his fortune in King James's reign: and he accordingly courted popery, and was just upon the point of complimenting his religion away to please that monarch, till he received advice of the Prince of Orange's preparations. Dr. Kennet at that time was convinced in his conscience, that King James's cause grew more wicked every day, and was arrived to an enormous height of impiety after the battle of *La Hogue*. Mr. Marshall has entertained the same sentiments of Jacobitism since the surrender of Preston; he could find no damnable schism, nor horrid separation before."

All these works were called forth by Hickes's *Constitution of the Catholic Church*. Lawrence Howell had also published a work in 1715, in which

ⁿ Marshall's Defence, 168, 169, 170.

the same charge of heresy, schism and treason, was alleged. It was, therefore, to be expected, that those who considered the Revolution lawful would defend themselves. Besides the works already mentioned, there was one, in which the case of the compliers appears to be very moderately stated, intitled “ *The Sin of Schism most unjustly charged by the Nonjurors upon the present established Church of England, and the Charge made good against themselves. In a Letter to a Nonjuring Clergyman.*” The writer admits “ the ministerial function of the Bishops and Clergy is of Divine institution : but the limitation of the exercise of this function, within this or that diocese, parish, or district, is altogether of human appointment. When the Nonjuring Bishops and Clergy were, by act of Parliament, deprived of their respective preferments, nothing was pretended to be taken away that was of divine institution.”

We must now proceed to those internal disputes, by which the body was agitated, and which issued in a separation among themselves, a separation into two distinct communions. Loudly as they had protested against alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, some of them were now ready to introduce them. The controversy did not spring up till after the death of Hickes : but similar views, with those entertained by the advocates for alterations, had been advanced in his *Christian Priesthood*, which may have had some influence in the disputes. It is remarkable, that the men, who deprecated any changes in 1689, should have been the first to alter the Communion Service. They actually split upon the very rock, that of alterations, which by the good Providence of God, the Church had avoided—and avoided too by the opposition of the very men, who now ad-

vocated the change. Any material alterations at the Revolution might have endangered the Church : and the changes made by some of the Nonjurors weakened them so much, as a party, that they never assumed so compact a form after this period. The divisions, indeed, which now sprang up, may be assigned as the remote cause of their extinction.

The Communion Office, in the *First Book of King Edward*, A.D. 1549, differed, as is well known, from that of *The Second*, and of all our succeeding Books, in several particulars. Certain practices and several petitions were laid aside, when the book was revised in 1552. In the year 1717, when this dispute commenced, a reprint of the First Communion Book was published by the Nonjurors, who wished to adopt the *usages*, which were rejected when the book was reviewed.

Collier took the lead in this controversy. Hickes had expressed his preference of the First Communion Book, but during his life no formal proposal was made by Collier to publish a New Book. In the year 1717, appeared the "*Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers, &c.*"^x The work was published by Morpew, who was the printer of *The Communion Office* : from which circumstance, we may infer the probability, that Collier, or one of the Nonjurors, was the originator of the latter.

This Tract was written in a candid and moderate tone. The Author enters very abruptly upon his work : for the very first sentence in the Tract is the

^x Reasons for Restoring some Prayers and Directions as they stand in the Communion Service of the First English Reformed Liturgy, compiled by the Bishops in the 2nd and 3rd years of the reign of King Edward VI. London, 1717.

following: "The Rubric orders the putting a little *pure water* to the wine in the Chalice." He then proceeds to adduce evidence in proof of the antiquity of the practice. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, St. Cyprian, are quoted as authorities for the practice in early times, besides the Apostolical constitutions. The Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, the Council in Trullo, and the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are also cited.^y

The next point is the introduction of the words "*Militant here on Earth*," after the words "Let us Pray for the Whole State of Christ's Church." The previous words, he says, "seem inserted to exclude Prayer for the Dead." In the first book there was a petition for the dead: and he contends, that such a recommendation of the departed to the mercy of God, "is nothing of the remains of Popery, but a constant usage of the Primitive Church." Tertullian, Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Ambrose, St. Epiphanius, St.

^y It appears from the following extract that Hickes always used the Office in the First Book of King Edward: and undoubtedly Collier and those who agreed with him did the same, while Spinkes and his friends adhered to our present Office. Alluding to Grabe, Campbell says: "This very learned and pious doctor had not the least tendency to the corruptions of Popery, as his excellent elaborate works do abundantly testify; and at his death he made choice of the Right Reverend and very learned Bishop George Hickes, for his confessor, from whose hands he received the Holy Eucharist, the last time of his life, as he had done several times before, according to the First Liturgy of King Edward VI.; for he did not care to communicate by the present Liturgy, as believing it defective in several parts of that Office, and looking upon the other as approaching nearer to the Primitive Forms, by reason of the *Mixture*, the Invocation of the *Father* for the Descent of the *Holy Ghost* upon the Elements, the *Oblation* rightly placed, and *Prayers* for the *Dead*. And Bp. Hickes never gave him the Holy Eucharist by any other Form." Campbell's Middle Sate, 79.

Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and the Apostolical Constitutions, with certain Ancient Liturgies, are quoted in support of this statement, besides certain individuals, who actually prayed for deceased friends. Collier argues, that the Church of England, though she condemns the Romish doctrine of Purgatory, has not condemned Prayers for the Dead: and he says: "Where the Church of England has left her meaning doubtful, the greatest honour we can do her, is to interpret her to a conformity to primitive practice."^z Respecting the custom itself, he says: "This custom, which began in the Apostolical age, and was continued through the whole Church till the Sixteenth Century: this custom, we conceive, is very serviceable to the ends of religion: it supposes our friends but removed to a distant country, and existing in a different condition: and that they only die in one place to live in another. It refreshes the belief of the Soul's immortality, draws back the curtain of the grave, and opens a communication between this world and the other."^a

The third passage, which he wished to be restored, was the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the sacramental elements. In the First Liturgy was this petition: "Hear us (O Merciful Father) we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ."^b He then adduces testimonies from antiquity in favour of the petition. He admits that the force of the invocation may be contained

^z Reasons, &c. p. 20.^a Ibid. 21.^b Ibid. 22.

in our present office : but he thinks that express terms are desirable.

A fourth thing is specified, namely, the Restoration of the *Oblatory* Prayer, which in the First Liturgy came after the Consecration Prayer. In that prayer are the following words: “ We thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make.” Collier’s view of this prayer is thus stated : “ The Oblatory Prayer goes upon this ground, that the Holy Eucharist is a proper sacrifice : and that Our Blessed Saviour, at His last supper, offered the bread and wine to God the Father, as the symbols of his body and blood, and commanded His apostles to do the same.”^c As before, several testimonies from antiquity are produced, besides the authority of Hickes in his *Christian Priesthood*, and Johnson in his *Unbloody Sacrifice*. He closes with an allusion to Bucer Calvin, and Peter Martyr, to whom our reformers are supposed to have yielded, in rejecting these four practices. “ From hence we infer,” says he, “ that the explanations, as they are called, in the Second Book, were not made without compliance with the weakness of some people ; not without condescension to those who had more scruples than understanding, more heat than light in them.”^d

In a very short time, an Answer was published by a *Nonjuror*.^e Collier had written with moderation, and the reply evinces a similar spirit. The writer is

^c Reasons, &c. 26.

^d Reasons, &c. 34.

^e No Reason for Restoring the Prayers and Directions of Edward VI.’s First Liturgy. By a Nonjuror. London, 1717. Spinkes was, I believe, the Author. It is assigned to him by Watt.

anxious to prevent divisions among themselves: and he is apprehensive of danger from the proposed changes. He takes up the four points, in the order, in which they are ranged by Collier.

With respect to the mixture, he contends that it cannot be shewn to be necessary from Scripture, and that the first mention of it occurs not, until one hundred and fifty years after our Lord, by Justin Martyr. As Justin Martyr mentions the salutation by a kiss, which was known to be an Apostolic custom, he argues, that it might be revived with more reason than the mixture, which does not appear to have been known to the Apostles. The author intimates, that Cyprian and others might have been mistaken in the Tradition, alleging the well known case respecting Easter, in which both parties pleaded Apostolical Tradition.^f All the authorities cited by Collier are examined: and the writer infers from the whole, that the custom cannot be proved to be of perpetual obligation.

In the next place, the authorities quoted in favour of *Prayer for the Dead* are examined with great minuteness; but he thinks, that they do not prove the necessity of a change. Alluding to the quotation from Tertullian, he remarks, "that this Father expressly declares, that there is no Scripture authority for the practice." "So that," says he, "all is resolved into bare tradition, without which there was nothing to be said in their behalf. And yet I could never find that our Saviour has any where referred to tradition, as a sure ground to go upon in imposing necessary duties, that he has said nothing of. I own it is of great use, when it is truly primitive, for establishing

^f No Reason, &c. 7.

and explaining such duties as are not so fully taught in Scripture, but that disputes may arise about them. But that tradition alone, when not evidently Apostolical, will make that necessary, which is not otherwise so, is what I am yet to learn.”^g In replying to Collier’s remark respecting the advantage of the practice, he says: “Had our Saviour and his Apostles thought so, it is not conceivable, that they would have given no manner of direction about these sort of prayers. We are taught to pray for one another, and to desire each other’s prayers here: and what reason can be conceived, why we should not have been likewise some way directed to pray for the saints departed in general, or so much as for our deceased friends and relations, if our prayers might be truly profitable to them?”^h

The Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Sacramental Elements is considered as unnecessary, on the ground, that it is not enjoined in Scripture, nor can be proved to be of Apostolic origin, Collier not having traced it higher than the middle of the third century. Both the author, and Collier, however, concur in opinion, that the force of the invocation is retained by implication in our present service.

With respect to the Oblatory Prayer, the author concurs in opinion with Hickes, Johnson, and Mede, that the Eucharist is the Christian Sacrifice: but he does not consider, that, on this account, there was any necessity for restoring the prayer. “Alterations in matters of a public nature, are not to be made upon every appearance of making them to advantage, lest such unforeseen ill consequences follow upon them, as are more than are equivalent to any benefit that

^g No Reason, &c. 53.

^h Ibid. 69, 70.

can arise from them.”ⁱ He thinks too, with Johnson, that the prayer is virtually contained in the Prayer of Consecration, and the words of institution. “The sum of all this is, that changes are not to be easily made in a Church already settled, and especially in matters that have been of a long continuance: that there is no sufficient reason for the changes here desired, the two former having no foundation in Scripture, or even truly Apostolical tradition, and the others being virtually in our service as it stands without them.”^k

Leslie also appeared, in the controversy, against Collier, in a short tract of seven pages.¹ His object was to prevent a division. “I see no ground,” he says, “for a breach upon that account, the utmost they can amount to is probable opinions.” Referring Collier to Usher, Leslie remarks, “That nothing is to be received as faith or Christian doctrine, but what is written in the holy Scriptures, which are so perfect a rule, that nothing is to be added to them, which if any do, let him fear that woe denounced against such.” He adds, afterwards: “In short, we must first find our rule of faith, before we apply any thing to it or it to any thing; if it be Scripture, we know where we are, but if it be tradition, we launch into an ocean which has neither shore nor bottom, nor we any compass to steer by, where we must be driven about with every wind of doctrine.”^m

From this pamphlet it appears, that some of the Nonjurors went over at this time to the Church of

ⁱ No Reason, &c. 83.

^k Ibid. 90.

¹ A Letter from Mr. Leslie to his Friend, against Alterations or Additions to the Liturgy of the Church of England.

^m Leslie's Letter, p. 4, 5,

Rome, though this was not the case with any of the leaders. "I am grieved that so many of the handful shew inclinations to popery : I am told that about a dozen are gone off lately, and others send their children to be educated in popish, and even in Jesuit seminaries. Let me know, if this of the reasons for restoring some Prayers is all the dispute, which now makes new divisions amongst us, even as I am told, to the abstaining from each other's communion."ⁿ

Collier, Brett, and Campbell the Scottish Bishop, were the chief of that section, by whom the restoration of the prayers and directions was advocated : while Spinkes, Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford strenuously contended for a strict adherence to the Liturgy, as now used in the Church of England.

At the commencement of the year 1718, Collier published an answer to the Reply to his former Pamphlet, in which he meets the objections alleged by his opponent against the restoration of the prayers.^o Collier asks, whether Justin Martyr is not early enough, the author of "*No Reason, &c.*" having objected on the ground, that he was too late as an evidence in such a matter. It would occupy too much space to go over Collier's reasoning. It may, therefore, be sufficient to observe, that he enters at great length into all the arguments advanced by his opponent, with a view to the establishment of his former positions. He closes in these words : "The best service we can do the Church of England, is to recover the main of her first Reformation : to retrieve what

ⁿ Leslie's Letter, p. 5.

^o A Defence of the Reasons for Restoring some Prayers and Directions of King Edward the Sixth's First Liturgy : being a Reply to a Book entituled *No Reason for Restoring them*. London, 1718. Two Parts.

she has suffered by interested views, by foreign direction, and Calvinistical alloy. Thus I humbly conceive she will be remarkably *Decus et tutamen*, and have new strength and lustre upon her. Thus she will better endure the test of antiquity, be more covered from assault, and stand impregnable.”^p

The author of “*No Reason for restoring*,” &c. very soon published another Pamphlet in reply to Collier, intitled “*No Sufficient Reason for Restoring some Prayers and Directions of King Edward VI.’s First Liturgy*.” Collier immediately replied, for his answer was published in the same year.^q This is a work of considerable size; and every page affords evidence of the learning and talents of the author. “*The Vindication*” was replied to by the author of “*No Reason*,” &c. and “*No Sufficient Reason* :” &c. After which Collier published in the year 1720, “*A Farther Defence &c. being an Answer to a Reply to the Vindication of the Reasons and Defence for Restoring*,” &c.

Collier preferred the First Communion Book, while his opponent was strenuous for adhering to our present Form. The latter considered the practices as immaterial: and consequently, that no sufficient reason could be pleaded for their restoration. It will be seen, that the controversy continued several years: and that the parties became embittered towards each other as it proceeded.*

^p A Defence of the Reasons, &c. p. 122.

^q A Vindication of the Reasons and Defence, &c. Part I. Being a Reply to the First Part of No Sufficient Reason, &c. 1718. Part II. Being a Reply to the Second Part of No Sufficient Reason, &c. 1719.

* After Collier’s death these Tracts were collected together and issued with a new Title Page of the date of 1736, with a Portrait of the Author.

During the progress of this controversy, between the two sections of the Nonjurors, the New Communion Office was actually published.^s

In the Prayer for the King no name is used, but only a petition for the Sovereign : and of course the four points contended for by Collier and Brett are incorporated into the Office.

Brett took an important part, with Collier, in the controversy. In the year 1718 he published his work on Tradition, in which he assails the positions advanced by the Author of "*No Sufficient Reason for Restoring the Prayers and Directions of King Edward the VIth's. First Liturgy.*"^t Unquestionably this is a most valuable work : and though I do not assent to all the Author's positions, yet I must confess, that the use of tradition is most clearly pointed out. *The Postscript* is occupied with the statements advanced in "*No Sufficient Reason,*" &c.

Two other important works were published by Brett, about the same time, on subjects, which were matter of controversy between the Nonjurors, and some of the clergy of the National Church. Into the arguments I cannot, however, enter in this work : but must content myself with subjoining the titles.^u

^s A Communion Office taken partly from Primitive Liturgies and partly from the first English Reformed Common Prayer Book : together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick. 8vo. London, 1718.

^t Tradition necessary to Explain and Interpret the Holy Scriptures. With a Postscript in answer to that part of a Book lately published (called *No Sufficient Reason*, &c.) which seems to depreciate Tradition. And a Preface containing some remarks on Mr. Toland's *Nazarenus*. By Thomas Brett, LL.D. 1718.

^u The Independency of the Church upon the State, as to its pure spiritual Powers : proved from the Holy Scriptures, and the Writings of the Primitive Fathers. With Answers to the most material Objections. London 1717.

A short time before, Brett was compelled to come forward publicly to defend himself from the charge of Popery, which was alleged against him by some persons, who could not confute his arguments. I have previously noticed the constant charge of Popery against the Nonjurors—a charge of the most unfounded description. It was then the custom with certain persons, as is the case in our day, to cry out Popery against principles and arguments, which they could not refute. In this respect, there is a great similarity between those times and the present. Even now, whenever a man stands up for the principles of the Church, in matters of discipline and government, the cry of Popery is immediately raised by Dissenters, who never refuse to act with Papists, and by loose Churchmen, who never refuse to unite with Dissenters the allies of Popery, and who see no evil in Dissent. Brett considered it necessary to publish a Defence of himself.^w Newspapers were then, as at present, the ordinary vehicles for the publication of calumny. In the work in question, Brett enumerates the peculiarities of Popery, and then enters into a

The Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the necessity of an Episcopal Commission for preaching God's Word, and for the valid Administration of the Christian Sacraments, proved from the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church, together with an impartial Account of the false Principles of Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists, concerning the Identity of Bishops and Presbyters. Also the valid Succession of our English Bishops vindicated, against the Objections of Presbyterians and Romanists. And the Popish Fable of the Nag's Head Consecration of Archbishop Parker fully refuted. By Thomas Brett, LL.D. London, 1718.

^w Dr. Brett's Vindication of Himself from the calumnies thrown upon Him in some late Newspapers, wherein he is falsely charged with turning Papist, in a Letter to the Honourable Archibald Campbell. London, 1715.

most masterly confutation of them. He then specifies the particulars alleged against him as Popish, which were these : “ The Independency of the Church, of the State, as to pure spiritual powers. The Divine Right of Episcopacy. The Oblation in the Eucharist. The Necessity of Sacerdotal Absolution. The Unc-tion of the Sick. And the Middle State of separate Souls.” These various opinions are explained and defended from the charge of Popery. Now, whatever we may think of the views of Brett, on these subjects, we have no right to call them Popish, because we do not receive them. Whether erroneous or not, they are not Popish.

Several works appeared on both sides, besides those already enumerated. Among others I wish to specify one in particular, because it contains an account of the discussions, which led to the separation into two distinct communions. This work was intitled briefly “ *Mr. Collier’s Desertion Discussed*,” and Collier is charged, as the title implies, with having deserted the Church of England.* The author commences by lamenting the divisions in their little flock, and asks what is to be thought of the Bishops, Clergy, and convocations of the Church, who served God by the Established Liturgy ; and in the constant reception of the Holy Sacrament according to her Communion Office, even to their last breath, and dying devotions : never imagining, that *not praying for the dead*, and *not mixing water with the eucharistical wine* were

* *Mr. Collier’s Desertion Discussed : or the Offices of Worship in the Liturgy of the Church of England Defended : against the bold attacks of that gentleman, late of her communion, now of his own. In a Letter to a Friend. To which is added a second Letter by way of Appendix, containing some desiderata. Second Edition, London, 1720. The first Edition was published in 1718.*

just causes for breaking the unity of the Church? Collier undoubtedly acted injudiciously in pressing the points: since, whether primitive or otherwise, they had been rejected by the Church, and could not be revived without a reflection on her Bishops and Clergy since the Reformation: but it is evident, that all the violence was not on his side. He was indiscreet, but he did not favour the Church of Rome. The author of *Mr. Collier's Desertion Discussed*, himself a Nonjuror, positively charges Collier with popery—with setting up as the head of a new schism, “and so by unsuspected ways” leading “his sequacious disciples, by degrees, at last into the communion of the Church of Rome. At least it seems to me, that he has his conscience so disposed, as perhaps his Library may be: at that end Papists, and at that end Protestants, and he comes in the middle, as near one as the other.”^y Such a passage as this was unwarranted by the circumstances.

Apart, however, from these blemishes, the work is one of great interest, as containing the particulars of the disputes and the subsequent separation. Brett also has given his account: so that, in these two works, we have the particulars stated by two leading persons of the two divisions or sections of the party. The author of *Collier's Desertion Discussed* enters largely into the questions of the *mixture* and *Prayers for the Dead*: and, after enlarging on these topics, he remarks, that Collier and his friends had separated from a Church “*reformed by full and sufficient authority*, upon most mature and serious deliberation, with a perfect submission to the rule of the Holy Scripture, and with a proper deference and regard to

^y Collier's Desertion Discussed, p. 3.

the first and purest ages." Then he adds: "and now ye gentlemen of the concision, consider, I pray, what ground there can be to justify your separation from such a Church." ^z

In the Appendix the Author gives an historical Sketch of the division. On the 23rd of July 1717, some mention was made in conversation of King Edward the VIth's First Liturgy, with certain proposals for its revival. After several conversations, the advocates for its revival wished a time and place to be fixed, for the consideration of the subject. At the first interview few persons were present; but a chairman was appointed, who was to summon the parties to future meetings. Nothing, the author says, was settled at this meeting, except the appointment of another, though some individuals stated, that the points were determined. The second meeting took place on the 27th of July. A Petition in favour of the alterations was produced and read: but the opponents of change did not expect, that any such step would have been adopted, or many more signatures would have been procured to an opposite Paper. A large majority, however, decided against any alterations: after which it was moved, that each one should be left at his own option. For some time all things proceeded as usual: but at length, it was whispered abroad, that every one was left to his own liberty in the matter: "whereas," says the author, "in fact every one knew, the only vote which passed was, *No alterations*. This candid report thickened about midsummer 1717." At length the Advocates for the changes sent two proposals to the other party; and on their refusal to depart from the decision of the

^z Collier's Desertion Discussed, p. 105.

last meeting, the parties, who wished for the restoration of the Prayers and Directions, met and agreed, in a declaration on the 19th of December 1717, that it was necessary to restore them as primitive usages. On the 20th of December, two of them gave orders for an alteration in the service. A new office was then composed : communion with those who adhered to the Book of Common Prayer was prohibited : and the New Service was actually used at Easter in the year 1718.

The same divisions existed also in Scotland, as will be shewn in a distinct chapter ; but it may be mentioned in this place, that the dispute was referred to the Scottish Bishops for their opinion on the matter. Skinner, however, says that the source even of the Scottish divisions “was in England, whence it reached Scotland.” Mr. Peck went to Scotland in 1718, on behalf of Collier and his friends, or the *Usagers*, as they were designated, requesting Bishops Rose and Falconer to procure a synodical determination. This was prudently declined by the Scotch Bishops, who recommended peace. Spinkes too, on his part, wrote to the same Bishops, who replied in the same way to his application. They however employed Dr. Rattray to draw up proposals for an accommodation, which did not give satisfaction. Campbell and Gadderer, the two Scottish Bishops resident in London, espoused the views of Collier in this question. Of the Bishops in Scotland some were opposed and some were neutral.^a

It appears, that the new office was at first sanctioned only by eight English and six Scotch clergy-

^a Skinner's Ecclesiastical History, ii. 623—626.

men. Of these, says the writer, "one made no long delay to declare for the Church of England : another, like the scape goat, was sent packing into the wilderness of Popery : and a third, if of any communion, has wandered into the same broad way. These were some of their first fruits and early triumphs."^b

Brett, who went with Collier, admits that the majority were against any alterations, alleging that they had no authority to recede from the public Liturgy. He does not vary from the preceding account : but he adds, " Finding that their brethren would by no means join with them to make these alterations, they saw a separation was unavoidable : " Brett argues, that the communion could not be received unmaimed according to the Liturgy of the Church of England : and Collier proposed, in his *Vindication of The Reasons*, the restoration of the four points, with a view to prevent a separation. " However," says Brett, " our brethren thought it not proper to comply with these proposals, whereby the schism became unavoidable." Brett admits that The Nonjurors were now reduced to a very inconsiderable number, but he hopes that the Clergy of the Church of England will feel themselves concerned in the matter.^c

Having concluded that separation was unavoidable, Brett tells us, that they composed the new Commu-

^b Mr. Collier's Desertion Discussed, pp. 184—190.

^c A Collection of the Principal Liturgies, Used by the Christian Church in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist : particularly the Ancient, viz. the Clementine, as it stands in the book called the Apostolical Constitutions : The Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, &c. Translated into English by several hands. With a Dissertation upon them, shewing their usefulness and authority, and pointing out their several corruptions and interpolations. By Thomas Brett, L.L.D. 8vo. 1720. pp. 359—62.

nion Office after the First Liturgy of King Edward. He also enters into particulars, stating the reasons for departing in some things from Edward's First Book, and for preferring the older Liturgies.^d The arguments, in favour of all the disputed points, are most elaborately stated: and the work itself was originally intended as a defence of the points at issue between the two parties. All the Liturgies, which are reprinted in the volume, contain the Prayers and Directions; so that, it was thought, that no more effectual method could be adopted, than the republication of these ancient offices. Accordingly Brett states, that they sometimes depart even from King

^d Brett, 380, 381. Sir John Hawkins says: "Johnson once told me, he had heard his father say, that when he was young in trade King Edward VI's. Liturgy was much inquired for, and fetched a great price; but that the publication of this book which contained the whole Communion Office, as it stands in the former, reduced the price of it to that of a common book." Hawkins's Life of Johnson, 448. How different a result has been produced in our day by the reprints of King Edward's Books. Attention being directed to the originals, their price is greatly enhanced. I need only refer to the sale of the library of the late Duke of Sussex. The Books of 1549, 1552, 1559, and 1604, are of excessive rarity. The last, that of 1604, being the first of the reign of James I, is perhaps rarer even than the earlier editions. Of this I had evidence when preparing my *History of the Convocation* for the press, being unable to procure a copy by any means. Since its publication, however, I have met with a fine copy of this very scarce book. I am unable to account for the excessive rarity of the Book of 1604. While on this subject, I may be permitted to mention, that I possess the book of 1625—the identical copy used by Secretary Nicholas, during the civil wars, in his own family. In the margin, opposite the Prayer for the King in the Communion Service, the following clause is written in Nicholas's own hand: "*may turn and submit unto him and faithfully.*"

Edward's First Book, to follow the more ancient Liturgies.

Several Clergymen of the Anglican Church would have preferred the restoration of the *usages*, as they were termed ; but they did not consider them essential, as was the case with Collier and Brett. Thus Johnson, in his valuable work "*The Unbloody Sacrifice*," decidedly expresses his preference for these practices ; but as he did not consider them essential, he was ready to comply with the authorized office.

It is very remarkable also, that Whiston, who on many important points entertained dangerous opinions, should in this matter have altogether agreed with Collier and Brett. He is quite as much in favour of the *usages* as themselves : and defends them as strongly. Accordingly, in his Revised Liturgy, they are all introduced. All the peculiarities of the New Communion Service were retained by Whiston, who argued, as the Nonjurors did, that they were primitive practices, and that the Church could not dispense with them.^e

Deacon, who will be more specifically mentioned in a subsequent chapter, also appeared in this controversy.^f His chief object was to prove, that there was no necessary connexion between the Romish Doctrine of Purgatory, and Praying for the Dead. The work may be regarded as another evidence, that

^e The Liturgy of the Church of England reduced nearer to the Primitive Standard. Humbly proposed to Public Consideration. 8vo. London, 1750.

^f The Doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning Purgatory, proved to be contrary to Catholic Tradition, and inconsistent with the necessary Duty of Praying for the Dead, as practised in the Ancient Church. By Thomas Deacon, *Priest*. London, 12mo. 1718.

the Nonjurors had no leaning towards Rome, though the charge was so ignorantly adduced. Thus he says, that the design of his work was “to demonstrate the unlawfulness of being a member of the Church of Rome, and to overthrow her pretended infallibility, by proving her erroneous in no less a point than an article of faith.” This is from *the Dedication* to Brett. He proceeds: “As you are a true Catholick yourself, so I cannot in the least doubt your approbation of my endeavours to establish the Ancient Christian Doctrine, concerning the state of the dead, to shew the falsity of the Roman Purgatory, and thereby to strip the Papal sect of the glorious title of Catholick, which without any right she assumes to herself.” Deacon also enters upon the other points, which were comprehended under the general designation *Usages*. The work is managed with considerable ability: and whoever reads it will see that Deacon was not a Papist, as his enemies asserted. It is indeed distinguished by so much good sense, that I venture to quote a few passages. The following remarks, from the preface, appear to me to be deserving of attention in the present day. “I have often observed with concern the usage, which Protestants and Romanists have given each other in controversies; sometimes they accuse each other of practices, which cannot be charged upon the body: or if they could, yet would signify nothing to the matter of communion. Sometimes they argue against the opinion of private men, as if they were the tenets of the sect they were opposing: and sometimes they deny the doctrine of their own church, and misrepresent that of their adversaries. This management has been practised on both sides.”

Deacon's book was a reply to a Romish paper on

the subject of Purgatory. He contends for Prayer for the Dead, but argues against Purgatory. The following extract, perhaps, shews the views of the Nonjurors on this subject. “ You see then that we agree in practising Prayer for the Dead : but you must not think that therefore I own the lawfulness of your way of praying for the dead : for I utterly condemn it, because it is founded upon the doctrine of Purgatory. So that though we both practise the same thing, yet we differ entirely in the end and design for which we practise it. You pray for those souls whom you believe to be in torment, that their sufferings may diminish, and at length cease. I pray for those, whom I believe to be in a state of bliss, that their condition may be improved, that they may have a happy resurrection, and a good and merciful trial at the day of judgment. Let the Primitive Church judge in this difference between us.”^s

He closes his book with a definition of a Catholic. “ My definition is this : ‘ a particular Catholic Church is a rightful Bishop, with his Clergy and the laity united to them, professing the true Christian faith, without the addition of false doctrine : and practising the necessary Christian worship without corruption.’ This is a definition which I suppose you yourself cannot deny is adequate and just : and by that do I offer to try the cause betwixt your Church and that of which I am a member. Do you shew that any part of your Church answers to this definition, or that ours does not, and I will be your convert. But, Sir, I know this is impossible for you to do : for your Church has added many false doctrines to the true

^s Deacon's Doctrine of the Church of Rome, &c. p. 7.

Christian worship. She has departed from the Primitive Church, and deviated from Catholic Tradition, and therefore it is dangerous for any one to be in her communion.”^h The reader will perceive, that whatever opinions the Nonjurors may have held, they were not Romanists.ⁱ

Some of the opinions, respecting which the Nonjurors divided into two communions, had been put forth by Hickes and others, without causing any division, at an earlier period. But as long as Hickes survived, no attempt was made to make any of these opinions terms of communion. There is another important work, to which I must direct the reader's attention, the first edition of which was published before the discussions, which issued in the separation of Collier and his adherents, from Spinkes and those, who concurred with him on this particular question. This work was published in 1713.^k The preface

^h Ibid. p. 142.

ⁱ It is known that Johnson was accustomed to mention his deceased wife in his Prayers. Sir John Hawkins deems it necessary to defend him from the suspicion of Popery, as if he had believed in Purgatory. He informs us that Johnson adopted the views of Brett on this subject, in consequence of the controversy which was then carried on. Johnson had also associated, in his early years, with some of the Nonjurors, and had imbibed certain of their views. Hawkins, 448—451.

^k Some Primitive Doctrines revived: or the Intermediate or Middle State of departed Souls (as to happiness or misery) before the Day of Judgment, plainly proved from the Holy Scriptures, and concurrent testimony of the Fathers of the Church. To which is prefixed, the Judgment of the Reverend Dr. George Hickes concerning this Book and the Subject thereof. London, 8vo. 1713.

I subjoin the titles of two works from the opposite section, or those who rejected the New Communion Office.

Reflections upon Modern Fanaticism. In Two Letters to Dr. Brett, and the Author of a late Pamphlet ironically intitled Mr.

contains a summary of Hickes's views on the subject : and in the work, the whole matter is elaborately discussed. Though anonymous, the book was known to be the production of the Honourable Archibald Campbell, one of the Scottish Bishops. After the subject had been long discussed and the Nonjurors were divided into two communions, Campbell published another edition, greatly enlarged, from an octavo to a folio, with his name on the title page. This was published in 1721 : and certain other treatises were appended, on the same and kindred subjects. The title itself is exceedingly curious. " The Doctrine of a Middle State between Death and the Resurrection : of Prayers for the Dead : and the Necessity of Purification : plainly proved from the Holy Scriptures : and the Writings of the Fathers of the Primitive Church : and acknowledged by several learned Fathers and great Divines of the Church of England, and others, since the Reformation. To which is added, an Appendix concerning the Descent of the Soul of Christ into Hell, while his Body lay in the Grave. Together with the judgment of the Reverend Dr. Hickes concerning this Book, so far as relates to a Middle State, Particular Judgment, and Prayers for the Dead, as it appeared in the First

Leslie's Defence from some dangerous and erroneous Principles. By Mathias Earbery, Presbyter of the Church of England. London, 1720.

The Doctrine of the Eucharist stated : and the Harmony between the Primitive Church and the Reformed Church of England manifested. By which the Conduct of our new Essentialists is censured. By a Presbyter of the Church of England. London, 1720, This author gives the initials S. W. at the end of his Letter.

Edition. And a Manuscript of the Right Reverend Bishop Overal, upon the subject of a Middle State, &c. never before printed. Also a Preservative against several of the Errors of the Roman Church, in six small Treatises. By the Honourable Archibald Campbell. London, fol. 1721."

The author argues in defence of the following propositions, which were generally received by this section of the Nonjurors.

"That there is an intermediate or middle state for departed souls to abide in, between death and the resurrection, far different from what they are afterward to be in, when our blessed Lord Jesus Christ shall appear at his second coming.

"That there is no immediate judgment after death.

"That to pray and offer for, and to commemorate, our deceased brethren, is not only lawful and useful, but also our bounden duty.

"That the intermediate state between death and the resurrection is a state of purification in its lower, as well as of fixed joy and enjoyment, in its higher mansions.

"And that the full perfection of purity and holiness is not so to be attained in any mansion of Hades, higher or lower, as that any soul of mere man can be admitted to enter into the beatific vision, in the highest heavens, before the resurrection, and the trial by fire, which it must then go through."

After quoting largely from the Fathers, Campbell cites many passages from English divines since the Reformation. He remarks of Smallridge: "These are the sentiments of a Bishop of England, who was a thorough Revolutioner, a juror, and who did swear to all who have possessed the throne of England,

ever since the Revolution in 1688. And therefore it appears that *non jurors* are not singular in maintaining these notions.”¹

It is a most singular circumstance, that in a *Form of Prayer* for the 30th of January, published by royal authority in 1661, there is a prayer for the dead. The Form had only the authority of the crown, and the particular prayer was omitted in the authorized Service in 1662; but still it is remarkable, that it should have been introduced. The prayer is as follows, as quoted by Campbell :

“ And we beseech thee to give us all grace to remember and provide for our latter end, by a careful, studious imitation of this thy blessed saint and martyr, and all other thy saints and martyrs that have gone before us, that we may be made worthy to receive benefit by their prayers, which they in communion with thy Church Catholic offer up unto thee for that part of it here militant, and yet in fight with and danger from the flesh : that following the blessed steps of their holy lives and deaths, we may also shew forth the light of a good example : for the glory of thy name, the conversion of our enemies, and the improvement of those generations we shall shortly leave behind us, and with all those that have borne the

¹ Campbell, p. 175. To specify all the works in this controversy would be perhaps impossible. Collier, Brett, and their supporters deemed the *Usages essential*; and in consequence the term *Essentialists* was applied to them, to distinguish them from those who adhered to the Liturgy in its unaltered state. In 1719, a pamphlet was published, in which the term *Essentialist* was adopted : “ A Dialogue in Vindication of our present Liturgy and Service; between Timothy a Churchman and Thomas an Essentialist.” This was directed against Thomas Deacon, at that time a young man, who had just published his work on Purgatory, in which the *Usages* are defended.

heat and burden of the day, (thy servant particularly whose sufferings and labours we this day commemorate) receive the reward of our labours, the harvest of our hopes, even the salvation of our souls: and that for the merits, and through the mediation of thy Son, our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ."

Campbell quotes a letter from Grabe to Wagstaffe, in which is the following request: "I pray you likewise to pray, whenever you please, and offer the most holy sacrifice to God, for the soul of one young man of my relation, in Prussia, lately departed this life: whose name was Frederick: and was pious and solicitous to save himself in this confused state of the Church. He was once much inclined to go to the Roman Church, but could not satisfy his conscience about some of their abuses and errors, and therefore stayed back. God have mercy on him, and bless his soul in peace."^m

^m I find a prayer composed by Grabe himself for the soul of a departed person. It is set forth as "A Prayer of the Reverend Dr. Grabe, which he composed for the Soul of a Woman departed." After thanking God for delivering his sister from the present sinful world, we have the following petitions: "We beseech thy Divine Majesty, that thou wouldest likewise give to her immortal spirit thy peace and everlasting rest, in the bosom of Abraham the father of the faithful. Absolve the soul of thy servant — from all the bonds of sin and errors of her life past, which she either by the weakness or perverseness of her understanding and will, hath committed: and grant unto her a full release and perfect remission of all whatsoever hath been in her amiss. Remember, O everlasting God, in the highest heavens, our dear sister — for the best. Comfort the soul of thy servant as long as she is walking thro' the valley of the shadow of death, and grant now unto her, and to us all, a safe, easy, and quick passage through it, and in the end let us meet with a merciful Judge." Grabe, therefore, fully concurred with Collier, Brett, and their friends on this subject. See The Unity of the Church and Ex-

He also mentions, that Hickes gave him a prayer, not long before his death, which he wished to be offered for him after his departure. It contains the following petitions :

“ Do thou, O Lord, now look upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen, and taken from this into the other state.

“ O thou lover of men, forgive him all his offences, which he hath committed willingly or unwillingly against thee, and send thy benevolent holy angels to him, to conduct him into the bosom of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, &c.”ⁿ

Among the works of this period, from the pens of Nonjurors, to whom the theology and the literature of the eighteenth century were so deeply indebted, may be noticed Sclater's Answer to King. As early as 1691, King, who subsequently became Lord Chancellor, published the first part of “ *An Inquiry into*

pediency of Forms of Prayer, &c. London, 8vo. 1719. These are two pieces translated from St. Cyprian. Dr. Grabe's prayer is prefixed. There is also a Preface of considerable length, in which the *Usages* are discussed and recommended. The author also alludes to the breach in communion among the Nonjurors, which he laments. *Preface*, p. 8. The following extract will shew how ready the opponents of the Nonjurors were to load them with the charge of Popery : “ June 5, 1713. About this time, to carry on the design of representing Popery on the smoother and softer side, there came out a tract, entituled *Some Primitive Doctrines Revived*. Both the author and the recommender are not only for a *middle state* of souls in some intermediate places, distinct from heaven and hell, but as a consequence of this doctrine, they do affirm, that prayer for the dead is lawful and useful, and would have it restored to our public service. It is very hard to distinguish this doctrine from gross Popery : for if there be a middle state, why may it not be called a Purgatory ? ” Wisdom of Looking Backward, 286, 287.

ⁿ Campbell, pp. 178, 179.

the Constitution, Discipline, &c. of the Primitive Church." In this work, the author labours to prove, that no settled form of Church government could be gathered from Holy Scripture and primitive practice—a sentiment quite compatible with the latitudinarian notions of the day. A second part was subsequently published : and editions of the complete work were extensively circulated. As no answer appeared after several years, the enemies of the Church pretended, that King's *Inquiry* was unanswerable. Undoubtedly many of the Clergy, influenced by the Erastian notions of the day, were indifferent on the subject. Sclater at length stepped forward, and it is said that King was not only convinced by his arguments, but that he made him the offer of a living in the Church of England. Sclater was a Nonjuring Clergyman : consequently he could not accept of preferment in the Anglican Church, which involved the taking the Oath of Allegiance. All the arguments in King's book were considered by Sclater with the greatest candour and ability. The author was a man of singular modesty, of unaffected piety, and of uncommon learning, of which this work affords the most abundant evidence.*

* An Original Draught of the Primitive Church : in Answer to a Discourse intituled, " An Inquiry, &c." By a Presbyterian of the Church of England. London, 8vo. 1717





CHAPTER VIII.

A. D. 1720—1724.

CASE OF MR. HENDLEY.—HIS TRIAL.—CONDUCT OF THE JUDGE.
—THE SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY.—THE NONJURORS' COR-
RESPONDENCE WITH THE GREEK CHURCH IN THE EAST.—THE
CONTEMPLATED UNION.—ITS FAILURE.—ARSENIUS ARCH-
BISHOP OF THEBAIS.—CHARGE OF POPERY REFUTED BY THIS
CORRESPONDENCE.



BEFORE we proceed with the narrative of the Nonjurors, it may be well to gather up some particulars respecting the state of the members of the Anglican Church, who were oftentimes subjected, in those days of professed liberty, to much annoyance and even suffering. It must strike reflecting persons, as a mark of the Divine goodness towards the Church, that she was preserved in her integrity, when so many persons in authority were unwilling to afford their countenance and support. That the Church was maintained in connexion with the state must be attributed, not to the affection of the Whig ministers, but to the noble and consistent course of the great majority of the Clergy, who interposed, and prevented the evils, which, but for their exertions, would have overtaken the land. With the Clergy and the people in favour of the Church, it was not possible for any political party to effect very serious innovations. Still individuals were frequently exposed to much trouble and inconvenience, simply because they evidenced

their strong attachment to the Church. The case of Mr. Hendley, to which I shall now refer, affords a striking illustration of the persecutions, to which even men, who took the Oaths, were subjected. Dissenters and others were ready to fasten the brand of disloyalty and Jacobinism on men, who refused to yield to the latitudinarian feelings of the age.

Mr. Hendley, a clergyman, who resided at Islington, obtained permission from the Rector of Chiselhurst, and also from the Diocesan, the Bishop of Rochester, to preach sermons in the parish Church, in aid of St. Ann's Charity Schools, Aldersgate Street. In order to render the appeal more effectual, the master and some of the children were sent down to Chiselhurst on Saturday, August 23rd, 1718. On Sunday, August 24th, he preached in the Church. After sermon Mr. Wilson, the Rector of the parish, commenced reading the Offertory, the collectors proceeding to receive the alms of the parishioners. A gentleman present seized one of the collectors, alleging, that the act was illegal. After much confusion, some persons declaring that they cared neither for the Bishop nor the Archbishop, the collection was relinquished. In the evening of the same day, the rector, the preacher, and the persons who took the children to Chiselhurst, were actually taken into custody, as though an offence against the laws had been committed. Bail was taken by the magistrates for their appearance at the Sessions: and afterwards, on a charge of being rioters and vagrants, Mr. Hendley and the other parties were bound over to make their appearance at the assizes for trial.^a

^a It is difficult to understand how any magistrates could be found to act in such a case. Two of the body were at the Church,

At the assizes a true bill was found against the parties for sedition. It was proved at the trial, that the preacher had the consent of the Bishop and the incumbent : and it was alleged in their defence, that the Archbishops had preached in various churches for charities connected with other parishes : and that the House of Lords had attended on some such occasions. The counsel for the prosecution contended that the practice was illegal ; but the most extraordinary part of the business was the summing up of the judge, who descended so far to degrade the seat of justice as to tell the jury, that Mr. Hendley probably had permission from Cardinal Alberoni, as well as from the Bishop of Rochester. In our day no judge could so forget himself. The circumstance affords a sad specimen of the state of courts of justice at that time. From the bench of justice, Sir Littleton Powys actually insinuated the most unfounded charges against a respectable clergyman, who was standing before him on a groundless charge of sedition. The jury, after such a charge, found Mr. Hendley and his companions guilty, when the judge inflicted a fine of *six shillings and eightpence* on each person, telling them that if they were dissatisfied, they might bring a writ of error.^b

Sir Littleton Powys, the judge, before whom the case was tried, wrote a letter to the Lord Chancellor,

and actually headed the opposition. They certainly were the criminals, not Mr. Hendley and Mr. Wilson. One of these *notable justices* ordered a constable to cause the congregation to disperse. The pretence was, that the parties were collecting money for the Pretender.

^b Charity still a Christian Virtue : or an impartial Account of the Trial and Conviction of the Reverend Mr. Hendley, for Preaching a Charity Sermon at Chiselhurst. And of Mr. Chapman, Mr.

dated August 4th, 1719, giving an account of this singular trial. It affords striking evidence of the hard condition, to which the Clergy of that day were, or at least might be, subjected, simply from their faithful attachment to the Church. In this letter he tells the Chancellor what he had said to the jury: and among other extraordinary assertions he remarks, "No collection even for charity (unless for the poor of the same parish) is by law to be made, but by the leave and permission of the King. I told the jury that this was a case of dangerous consequence, and was an invasion, not only on the King's prerogative, but also upon the legislature, and that I thought the defendants guilty." He also tells the Chancellor that he had not inflicted a heavy fine, lest compassion should have been excited, and a collection made for the parties. In the same letter he alludes to the Bishop of London: "I gave Mr. Woodford a newspaper, wherein was an advertisement, which I thought very fit to be shewed to superiors: that the Bishop of London had issued a circular letter to all his Clergy, to collect charities in their parishes for the poor vicarages in England, which I thought much akin to the late collection in Kent, or rather more dangerous, not only by raising a vast sum of money, (if the like in all dioceses) but also by marking out people how far affected to the Church throughout

Pratt, and Mr. Harding, for collecting at the same time the Alms of the Congregation. At the Assizes held at Rochester, on Wednesday July 15th, 1719. Offered to the consideration of the Clergy of the Church of England, 8vo. London, 1719. There is a *frontispiece* to this extraordinary account, in which the Clergy are represented at the rails, and the people are pressing forward to offer their alms. The account in the *State Trials* is taken from this volume. *State Trials*, Vol. X. Appendix 89–91.

England.”^c The judge, and probably many other persons, were fearful lest it should appear, that the great mass of the people of England were well affected towards the Church. But what a picture of oppression is presented to our view in this letter. The Bishop of London is even complained of for an act of charity towards the Church.

It should be mentioned, that Mr. Wilson, the Incumbent of Chiselhurst, died within *forty-eight hours* after his return from the Sessions, at which the parties were bound over to appear at the Assizes : and his death was caused by the fatigue of that journey. This year, 1718, was, it has been said, “ remarkable for the severity of the ministry, and the Parliament through them, in punishing the authors of obnoxious publications.”^d Mr. Hendley did not very long survive : so that no further proceedings were adopted in this extraordinary case.

The harsh proceedings of the government have been alluded to in the previous pages : but perhaps the period of Hendley’s trial was the time of the greatest severity. Nothing could have been more severe than their conduct towards Matthews, a

^c State Trials, Vol. x. App. 91.

^d Noble, iii. 142. Mr. Hendley published the Sermon, which he had preached at Chiselhurst, on occasion of the collection, with the following title : “ The Rich Man’s Proper Barns, a Sermon preached at the Parish Church of Chiselhurst in the county of Kent ; on Sunday, August 24, 1718. For the benefit of the Charity Children belonging to St. Ann’s, within Aldersgate, London. By W. Hendley, Curate and Lecturer of St. Mary at Islington, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Fitzwalter. 8vo. London, 1720.” He states, that he published it because the people generally “ imagined it to be upon the account of what was contained in my Sermon, that the prosecution was at first begun, and afterwards carried on against me.”

Printer's Apprentice, who had printed a Pamphlet, intitled, "*Ex Ore Tuo Te Judico, Vox Populi Vox Dei.*" He was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, Oct. 4th, 1719, on a charge of maintaining the rights of the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain. He was found guilty, and actually executed at Tyburn, being only in the *nineteenth* year of his age.

I now proceed to some circumstances of especial interest, in connexion with the Anglican and Scottish Nonjurors. They relate to a project, which some of the Nonjurors entertained, respecting a union with the Greek Church in the east. The scheme was first thought of in 1716, when Arsenius, an Archbishop of the Eastern Church, was in London soliciting assistance for his afflicted brethren in Alexandria. Campbell, one of the Scottish Bishops, became acquainted with the Archbishop: "and," as Skinner says, "having a scheming turn for every thing which he thought of general usefulness to the Church, took occasion in conversation to hint something of this kind." Campbell mentioned the matter to his friends at a meeting. At first all were united: but the disputes respecting the *usages* having arisen, Spinkes, though he had previously translated their proposals into Greek, together with Hawes and Gandy, declined to proceed any further in the business, which was subsequently carried on by Collier, Brett, and Griffin, with the Scottish Bishops Campbell and Gadderer. Skinner says, that there never was much probability of success, and that, in the event of success, no good end would have been answered.

An account of the correspondence, between the Nonjurors and the Patriarchs of the oriental Church, was drawn up by Brett, some few years after the

scheme had failed. It is preserved among Bishop Jolly's MSS. Having been furnished with a copy, I now submit to the Public all the letters and Papers, which were written by the Nonjurors, contenting myself with giving certain extracts only, though sufficient to exhibit a summary of their arguments, from the replies of the Patriarchs.

“In the month of July 1716, the Bishops called Nonjurors meeting about some affairs relating to their little Church, Mr. Campbell took occasion to speak of the Archbishop of Thebais then in London; and proposed that we should endeavour a union with the Greek Church, and draw up some propositions in order thereto, and deliver them to that Archbishop, with whom he intimated, as if he had already had some discourse upon that subject. I was then a perfect stranger to the doctrines and forms of worship of that Church, but as I wished most heartily for a general union of all Christians in one communion, I was ready to have joined with Mr. Campbell on this occasion. But Mr. Lawrence being in the room, drew me aside, and told me, that the Greeks were more corrupt and more bigoted than the Romanists, and therefore vehemently pressed me not to be concerned in the affair: but Mr. Collier, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Spinkes joined in it, and drew up proposals, which Mr. Spinkes (as Mr. Campbell informed me) put into Greek, and they went together and delivered them to the Archbishop of Thebais, who carried them to Moscovy, and engaged the Czar in the affair, and they were encouraged to write to his majesty on that occasion, who heartily espoused the matter, and sent the proposals by James, Proto-Cyncellus to the Patriarch of Alexandria, to be communicated to the

four Eastern Patriarchs. Before the return of the Patriarch's answer to the proposals, a breach of communion happened among the Nonjurors here, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Spinkes, and Mr. Gandy on the one side, and Mr. Collier, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Gadderer, and myself on the other. So that when the Patriarch's answer came to London, in 1722, Mr. Spinkes refused to be any further concerned in the affair, and Mr. Gadderer and I joined in it. After Mr. Gadderer went to Scotland, Mr. Griffin, being consulted, joined with us. The rest of the story relating to this matter may be gathered from the letters and the subscriptions to them. Mr. Collier subscribes Jeremias, Mr. Campbell Archibaldus, Mr. Gadderer Jacobus, and I, Thomas,

Sic. Sub. THOMAS BRETT."

March 30th, 1728.

"A Proposal for a concordate betwixt the orthodox and catholic remnant of the British Churches, and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church.

"1. That the Church of Jerusalem be acknowledged as the true mother Church and principal of ecclesiastical unity, whence all the other Churches have been derived, and to which, therefore, they owe a peculiar regard.

"2. That a principality of Order be in consequence hereof allowed to the Bishop of Jerusalem above all other Christian Bishops.

"3. That the Churches of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, with the Bishops thereof, his colleagues, be recognized as to all their ancient canonical rites, privileges, and pre-eminences.

"4. That to the Bishop and Patriarch of Constantinople in particular an equality of honour with that

of the Bishop of Rome be given, and that the very same powers and privileges be acknowledged to reside in them both alike.

“5. That the Catholic remnant of the British Churches, acknowledging that they first received their Christianity from such as came forth from the Church of Jerusalem, before they were subject to the Bishop of Rome and that Church, and professing the same holy Catholic faith, delivered by the Apostles, and explained in the councils of Nice, and Constantinople, be reciprocally acknowledged as part of the Catholic Church in communion with the Apostles, with the holy fathers of these councils, and with their successors.

“6. That the said Catholic remnant shall thereupon oblige themselves to revive what they long professed to wish for, the ancient godly discipline of the Church, and which they have already actually begun to restore.

“7. That in order still to a nearer union, there be as near a conformity in worship established as is consistent with the different circumstances and customs of nations, and with the rites of particular Churches, in that case allowed of.

“8. That the most ancient English Liturgy, as more near approaching the manner of the Oriental Church, be in the first place restored, with such proper additions and alterations, as may be agreed on to render it still more conformable both to that and the primitive standard.

“9. That several of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, and other approved Fathers of the said Oriental Church be forthwith translated into English and read in our holy assemblies.

“10. That in the public worship, when prayer is made for the Catholic Church, there be an express

commemoration made of the Bishop of Jerusalem, and that, especially in the Communion Service; Prayer be offered up for him and the other Patriarchs, with all the Bishops of the same communion, and for the deliverance and restoration of the whole Oriental Church.

“11. That the faithful and orthodox remnant of the Britannic Church is to be also, by the said Oriental Church, on proper occasions, or on certain days publicly commemorated and prayed for.

“12. That there be letters communicatory settled betwixt one and the other, and the acts and deeds on both sides be mutually confirmed.

“Wherefore in order to establish such a concordate, until that a firm and perfect union can be fixed, the suffering Catholic Bishops of the old constitution of Great Britain have thought fit hereby to declare, wherein they agree and wherein they cannot come to a perfect agreement.

“1. They agree in the twelve Articles of the Creed as delivered in the first and second General Councils, which they take to be sufficient for faith, and thereupon cannot agree with the Latin Church, which hath superadded thereto twelve other articles of faith.

“2. They agree in believing the Holy Ghost to be consubstantial with the Father and the Son, according to the orthodox confession of the Oriental Church; and moreover, that the Father is properly the fountain and original whence the Holy Ghost proceedeth; and that it is altogether sufficient for salvation to believe herein what Christ himself hath taught.

“3. They agree that the Holy Ghost is sent forth by the Son from the Father, and when they say in any of their confessions, that He is sent forth or proceedeth

from the Son, they mean no more than what is, and always has been confessed by the Oriental Church, i. e. from the Father by the Son.

“4. They agree, that the Holy Ghost did truly speak by the prophets and apostles, and is the genuine author of all the Scriptures.

“5. They agree, that the Holy Ghost assisteth the Church in judging rightly concerning matters of faith, and that both general and particular orthodox councils, convened after the example of the first council of Jerusalem, may reasonably expect that assistance in their resolutions.

“6. They agree, in the number and nature of the charismata of the Spirit.

“7. They agree, that there is no other foundation of the Church but Christ alone, and that the prophets and apostles are no otherwise to be called so, but in a less proper and secondary sense respectively only.

“8. They agree that Christ alone is the head of the Church, which title ought not therefore to be assumed by any one, much less by any secular power, how great soever, and that Bishops under him have a vicarious headship, as his proper representatives and vicegerents, being thence subject in spirituals to no temporal power on earth : and in consequence hereof they hope the patriarchs of the Oriental Church will be pleased, by an express article, to signify, that they own the independency of the Church in spirituals upon all lay powers, and consequently declare against all lay deprivations.

“9. They agree, that every Christian ought to be subject to the Church, and that the Church is by Christ sufficiently instructed and authorized to examine the writings and censure the persons of her subjects or ministers, though never so great.

“10. They agree, that the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ ought to be administered to the faithful in both kinds, and that the Latin Church have transgressed the Institution of Christ by restraining from the laity one kind.

“11. They agree, that Baptism and this are of general necessity to salvation, for all the faithful, and that the other holy mysteries instituted by Christ, or appointed by his Apostles, which are not so generally necessary unto all, ought nevertheless to be received and celebrated with due reverence, according to Catholic and immemorial practice.

“12. They agree, that there is no proper purgatorial fire in the future state, for the purgation of souls, nor consequently any redemption of souls out of the fire of purgatory by the suffrages of the living: but that notwithstanding none do immediately ascend into the heaven of heavens, but do remain until the resurrection in certain inferior mansions, appropriated to them, waiting in hope for the revelation of that day, and joining in the prayers and praises of the militant church upon earth, offered up in faith.”

“As to the points wherein they cannot, at present, perfectly agree, they declare.

“1. They have a great reverence for the canons of ancient general councils, yet they allow them not the same authority as is due to the sacred text, and think, they may be dispensed with by the governors of the Church, where charity or necessity require.

“2. Though they call the mother of our Lord blessed, and magnify the grace of God, which so highly exalted her, yet are they afraid of giving the glory of God to a creature, or to run into any extreme by blessing and magnifying her, and do hence rather

choose to bless and magnify God, for the high grace and honour conferred upon her, and for the benefits which we receive by that means.

“3. Though they believe that both saints and angels have joy in the conversion of one sinner, and in the progress of a Christian, and do unite with us in our prayers and thanksgivings, when rightly offered to God in the communion of the Church: yet are they jealous of detracting from the mediation of Jesus Christ, and therefore cannot use a direct invocation to any of them, the ever blessed Virgin herself not excepted, while we desire nevertheless to join with them in spirit, and to communicate with them in perfect charity.

“4. Though they believe a perfect mystery in the Holy Eucharist, through the invocation of the Holy Spirit, upon the elements, whereby the faithful do verily and indeed receive the body and blood of Christ, they believe it yet to be after a manner, which flesh and blood cannot conceive; and seeing no sufficient ground from Scripture or tradition to determine the manner of it, are for leaving it indefinite and undetermined: so that every one may freely, according to Christ’s own institution and meaning, receive the same in faith, and also worship Christ in spirit, as verily and indeed present, without being obliged to worship the Sacred symbols of his presence.

“5. Though they honour the memory of all the faithful witnesses of Christ, and count it not unlawful in itself to assist the imagination by pictures and representations of them and their glorious acts and sufferings, yet they are afraid of giving thereby, on one hand, scandal to the Jews and Mahometans, or on the other, to many well meaning Christians: and they are moreover apprehensive that, though the wise may

be safe from receiving any damage, by a wrong application, yet the vulgar may come thereby to be ensnared, and be carried to symbolize too much with the custom of idolaters, without designing it: to prevent which they therefore propose, that the 9th Article of the second Council of Nice, concerning the worship of Images, be so explained by the wisdom of the Bishops and Patriarchs of the Oriental Church, as to make it inoffensive, and to remove the scandal, which may be occasioned by a direct application to them.

“If a concordate can be agreed on with some limitations and indulgences on both sides, then it is proposed that a Church, to be called the Concordia, be built in or about London, which may be under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and in which, at certain times to be agreed on, there shall be the English service of the united British Catholics performed according as the same shall be approved or licensed by that Patriarch, or by the representatives of the Oriental Church. And that on the other side, if it should please God to restore the suffering Church of this island and her Bishops to her and their just rights, they promise to use their endeavours, that leave be granted to a Greek Bishop here for the time residing, or to such as shall be deputed by him, to celebrate, upon certain days, divine service in the cathedral church of St. Paul according to the Greek rites. But if one common Liturgy could be on both sides agreed on, which should be unexceptionable, being compiled out of the ancient Greek Liturgies, some passages and rites only omitted, which are not of the substance, and which may give offence to one side, it is thought that nothing can more conduce to the establishing a union and communion betwixt both parties on catholic terms, would but the Patriarchs

of the Oriental Church graciously condescend, that the same common Liturgy should be used in Great Britain, both by the Greeks themselves here residing, and by the united British Catholics.

“None to be excluded from entering into this concordate who are willing, and all endeavours to be used on both sides to heal the breaches of Christendom, and to promote and propagate Christian unanimity and peace.

London.

August 18th, 1716.”

“A Letter to the Czar of Moscovy relating to the preceding proposal.

“SIR,—The Archimandrite, who attended the Archbishop of Thebais at London, acquaints us, that your Majesty is pleased to encourage the proposal of union between the Greek and Britannic Churches, and that your Majesty has graciously offered to send the Articles to the four Eastern Patriarchs. This welcome information has made it our duty, to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for the honour of your countenance. And since God hath put it into the heart of so great a Prince, to assist in closing the breach of the Catholic Church, and restoring the harmony designed by the Christian institution, we hope the undertaking will prosper in your Majesty’s hand.

“Some late practices with respect to Church and State have reduced our Communion to a few; but your Majesty knows truth and right do not depend on numbers. That God may reward your Majesty’s pious endeavours, and long continue you glorious and happy to yourself and subjects, is the unfeigned

prayer of us, who are with the most profound regard,
Your Majesty's most Obedient Servants."

Oct. 8th, 1717.

"Copy of a Letter of the Archbishop of Thebais in Egypt, by whom the first proposals from Britain were transmitted to the Eastern Patriarchs."

"To the Most Venerable and Wise Bishops, Mr. Campbell, and the rest, and to the Reverend Priests and beloved Laicks and all worthy Christians, Arsenius, Metropolitan of Thebais, wisheth prosperity."

This Letter is dated from St. Petersburg, August 16, 1721. It was brought by James, the Patriarchal Proto-Cyncellus, who had carried the questions to the Patriarchs. He also brought with him a very long answer from the Eastern Patriarchs, intitled "The Answer from the Orthodox of the East to the proposals sent from Britain for an union and agreement with the Oriental Church."

In this document the Patriarchs refuse to make the desired concessions, giving their reasons at great length. To the first five proposals they state, that they shall give one answer, since they all relate to one point, namely, the order of the five Patriarchal thrones. "They who call themselves the remnant of primitive orthodoxy in Britain, would (if this be their meaning, which will be shewn to be otherwise hereafter) have them dispossessed of their situation given them by orthodox princes, and confirmed by divine and holy synods, and be settled in a new and different order : so that neither the Roman nor Constantinopolitan throne should any longer have the preference, but

that of Jerusalem. But somebody may thus bespeak them, if gentlemen, the subject of your union with the orthodox Oriental Church be matter of doctrine and holy faith, to what purpose should the order of the Patriarchal thrones be changed, which can neither the one way nor the other, be any advantage or detriment to religion? It would rather create divisions than conciliate an union, for it has the face of an innovation; whereas our Oriental Church, the immaculate Bride of the Lord, has never at any time admitted any novelty, nor will at all allow of any. And why should they have the preference given to the throne of Jerusalem? Because, say they, from thence came out the evangelical law of grace and truth, according to that prophesy, ‘but out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.’ Now they would by these words seem wiser and more provident, than those who place the thrones in this order, as if they had acted rashly and unadvisedly in making such an appointment, which God forbid. For the authors and legislators of this order were divine men, of extensive knowledge and judgment, and had the Spirit of the Lord: nor can we pretend to be better and more sagacious than they, or to overturn, or in the least disorder their wise settlements, lest we be found to fight against the saints and against God.”—

They afterwards say :

“Some time since, the Pope of Rome, being deceived by the malice of the devil, and falling into strange novel doctrines, revolted from the unity of the holy Church, and was cut off: and it is now like a shattered rag of a sail of the spiritual vessel of the Church, which formerly consisted and was made up of five parts, four of which continue in the same state of unity and agreement: and by these we easily and

calmly sail through the ocean of this life, and without difficulty pass over the waves of heresy, till we arrive within the haven of salvation. But he who is the fifth part, being separated from the entire sail, and remaining by himself in a small piece of the torn sheet, is unable to perform his voyage, and therefore we behold him at a distance tossed with constant waves and tempest till he return to our Catholic, Apostolic, Oriental, immaculate faith, and be reinstated in the sail from whence he was broken off: for this will make him secure, and able to weather the spiritual storms and tempests that beset him. Thus therefore the holy Church of Christ with us subsists on four pillars, namely, the four Patriarchs, and continues firm and immoveable. The first in order is the Patriarch of Constantinople. The second the Pope of Alexandria. The third of Antioch. The fourth of Jerusalem."

They grant however :

" If those who are called the remains of the primitive orthodoxy, out of any particular affection of piety to the holy and Apostolical throne of Jerusalem, would prefer and esteem it above the rest, we have no objection to it: for we ourselves, though for order's sake we number it in the 4th place, yet pay it the utmost reverence and respect, and honour it as the place where the light of religion and salvation arose, where the redemption of man and the preaching of the Gospel shone out into all the world, and because there our Lord suffered for us, and there shed his precious blood. And if this be the desire of the pious remnant in Britain, we grant and allow it, only let them not despise the ancient order, nor accuse it of error, nor reject it."

They add further on this point :

“ But it is necessary also that he should, either immediately or by deputation, consecrate the British Bishops by the grace of the Holy Spirit, no other Patriarch but that of Jerusalem daring to ordain in Britain, or to enter upon his jurisdiction.”

To the 6th proposal respecting the ancient discipline they remark, “ that they are ignorant of what is intended. If it be to make the Patriarch of Jerusalem supreme over all, they cannot consent, as it would subvert the ancient order : but if they only wish him to be primus in Britain, they consent. If the things to be revived were such as needed a synodical examination, they promise to submit them ‘ to a council of the universal Church.’ ”

To the 7th proposal they observe, that it is obscure, but they promise, that all such things shall be settled, if the union should be accomplished.

To the 8th proposal respecting King Edward’s First Liturgy, they say : “ The Oriental orthodox Church acknowledges but one Liturgy, the same which was delivered down by the Apostles, but written by the first Bishop of Jerusalem, James the brother of God, and afterwards abbreviated upon account of its length by the great Father, Basil, and afterwards again epitomized by John, the golden-tongued Patriarch of Constantinople, which from the times of Basil and Chrysostom, until now, the Oriental orthodox Church receives and uses every where, and by them administers the unbloody sacrifice in every Church of the orthodox. It is proper, therefore, that those, who are called the remnant of primitive piety, should, when they are united to us, make use of those, that in this point also there be no discord between us, but that they as well as we should on proper days officiate by the Liturgy of St. Basil, and daily

by that of St. Chrysostom. As for the English Liturgy we are unacquainted with it, having never either seen or read it, but we have suspicion of it, because many and various heresies and schisms and sects have arisen up in those parts, lest the heretics should have introduced into it any corruption or deviation from the right path. Upon this account it is necessary that we should both see and read it, and then either approve it as right, or reject it as disagreeable to our unspotted faith. When, therefore, we have considered it, if it needs correction, we will correct it, and if possible will give it the sanction of a genuine form. But what occasion have those for any other Liturgy, who have the true and sincere one of the divine Father Chrysostom, which is made use of in all the Oriental Churches of the Orthodox Greeks, Russians, Iberians, and Arabians, and many other orthodox nations? For if they who are called the remnant will receive this, they will thereby be more intimately united, and more nearly related to us: for the people do not so much look upon the heart as the appearance."

To the 9th Proposal, respecting the Homilies of Chrysostom, they assent, and commend it. To the 10th Proposal also they assent, as well as to the 11th, which they regard as of the same character. With respect to the 12th Proposal, they promise to transmit the decrees of their canons, and to receive the public and synodical determinations from Britain, and to take them into their consideration.

The Patriarchs then proceed to the points, in which the Nonjurors express their agreement with the Eastern Church. To the first four, a general agreement is expressed, only, with regard to the fourth, they wish them to add, that the Holy Ghost also "spake

by the Holy Synods and Divine Fathers, and then they will be in the right, and not far from the truth." To the rest of the propositions also a general agreement is expressed; only they state their belief in Seven Sacraments, though two only "exceed in necessity, and are such as no one can be saved without them." On the question of Purgatorial fire, they remark: "As for Purgatorial fire, invented by the Papists to command the purse of the ignorant, we will by no means hear of it. For it is a fiction and a doting fable invented for lucre, and to deceive the simple, and, in a word, has no existence but in the imagination. There is no appearance or mention of it in the Holy Scriptures or Fathers, whatsoever the authors or abettors of it may clamour to the contrary." They contend, however, for Prayers for Saints departed.

In the next place, the Patriarchs and Bishops proceed to the points of disagreement, as expressed by the Nonjurors, remarking that they constitute the greatest difficulty. "But, say they, this is not to be wondered at, for being born and educated in the principles of the Lutheran Calvinists, and possessed with their prejudices, they tenaciously adhere to them, like ivy to a tree, and are hardly drawn off." They answer the points in the order, in which they were placed by the Nonjurors.

To the *First* they say, that the proposition cannot be received, for they cannot allow the decrees of Synods to be despised. To the *Second* respecting the Virgin Mary, they say, "Here we may fairly cry out with David, 'They were in great fear where no fear was:'" and then they proceed to shew, that they do not give her divine honours. In replying to the *Third* point, they contend that the saints may be

invoked and addressed as helpers. The *Fourth* proposition relative to the Eucharist is termed blasphemous, and the Patriarchs express their belief in Transubstantiation. To the *Fifth* point, respecting Images, they state, that to honour the saints by pictures is an ancient piece of devotion, which they daily practice. They argue at some length that the honour paid to them is only relative. The proposal, at the end of the points of disagreement, respecting a church in or near London, is approved of and accepted: and also that the Eastern Bishops, or those appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria, should, in the event of a change in the government, perform divine service in St. Paul's in Greek and English. They then recommend the translation of the Greek Liturgy for general use.

At the close of the answers, it is added:

“The answers here transcribed to the proposals sent from Britain, were drawn up by a synodical judgment and determination of the Eastern Church, after the most mature deliberation, of the Lord Jeremias, the most holy œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, the new Rome, and the blessed and most holy Patriarchs, the Lord Samuel of Alexandria, and the Lord Chrysanthus of Jerusalem, with the holy metropolitans, and the holy Clergy of the great Church of Christ in Constantinople, in council assembled, in the year 1718, in the month of April, day the 12th.”

Then follows a synodical answer to a question, respecting the sentiments of the Greek Church, sent into Britain in the year 1672. The same decisions are expressed as in the preceding answers. It was signed by thirty-seven Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops. Another Synodical Decree is also given,

on the same points, bearing the date 1691, and subscribed by several Patriarchs and Bishops.

The following is the reply of the Nonjurors to the communication from the Patriarchs.

*“ Copy of a Reply to the Answers of the Orthodox
of the East.*

“ Before the Catholic remainder of the British Church proceed to reply to the answers of the four most Reverend Patriarchs of the Catholic Oriental Church, they think themselves obliged to return their most hearty thanks to their Patriarchal Lordships for the trouble they have given themselves, in drawing up an answer to our proposals, and transmitting it to so distant a country as Great Britain : hoping that this charitable disposition and generous ardour their Patriarchal Lordships express for preserving an harmony between us, and enlarging the union of Christendom, may be carried on to a happy conclusion ; and as the Catholic remnant of Britain will omit nothing, in order to so desirable an issue, but willingly stretch to the utmost of their power : so having the satisfaction to understand, that their Patriarchal Lordships refer the difference of sentiments between us to the decision of the Scriptures and primitive Church, they have no uncomfortable prospect of a coalition. For since the determining rule is equally received by the Oriental Churches and the Catholic remainder in Britain ; since the inspired writings of the Old and New Testament, as interpreted by the primitive Fathers, are the common standard of faith and worship to both, we do not despair, but by the blessing of God, when the case shall be further examined by the Catholic Oriental Church, such allow-

ances and concessions may be made, as may dispose both parties to unite in communion with each other. And now, after this short mention of our wishes and regard, we shall proceed to speak of the answer their Patriarchal Lordships have done us the honour to send us.

As to the Articles agreed on between us, they shall be passed over unmentioned except as they stand in number.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5. To the answers to the first five propositions we have nothing to except, only we conceive, that the British Bishops may remain independent of all the Patriarchs.

6. Under this Article we never intended to prescribe to the wisdom, or question the learning of the Catholic Oriental Church, our meaning by the word *παιδεία* relating only to points of discipline.

7. The answer of their Patriarchal Lordships is here agreed to.

8. It is likewise agreed, that the Liturgy by which we now officiate shall be translated into Greek, and transmitted to their Patriarchal Lordships to be inspected by them.

9, 10, 11, 12. The answer is agreed to. With respect to the 12th, we believe the prayers of the living, together with the Eucharistic Sacrifice, are serviceable to the dead, for the improvement of their happiness during the interval between death and the resurrection, but then we declare no further upon this Article.

As to the last five Articles, in which there still continue some differences to be adjusted, we desire to observe in general, that what conjectures soever the Catholic Oriental Church might have to suspect us of Luther-Calvinism, we openly declare, that

none of the distinguishing principles of either of those sects can fairly be charged upon us, and we further believe, that upon perusal of our reply they will most readily acquit us of any such imputation.

To come now to particulars.

I. Our reply to the answer to the 1st Proposition, relating to the reception of the seven general Councils as of equal authority to the Holy Scriptures, must be made with somewhat an abatement of regard. We willingly declare, we receive the faith decreed in the first six general Councils, as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, though our sentiments cannot advance so far as to believe the Fathers of those Councils assisted with an equal degree of inspiration with the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles; but here we desire not to lie under any restraint imposed by the disciplinary of those Councils. To this we must subjoin, that as to the seventh General Council assembled at Nice, we think ourselves obliged to declare, that we cannot assent to the giving even the worship *Dulia* to angels or departed saints. Some of our reasons are these.

1. There is no clear instance in the Old Testament that the Jews worshipped angels, but rather the contrary. Had that nation believed the worship of these superior beings lawful, they had particular motives for such an application: for angels had appeared to the Patriarchs, delivered the Mosaic laws, conducted them through the wilderness, and Michael is said to be their prince, and to have the guardianship of their country. Dan. x. 'Tis true Abraham is said to bow down before the angels: but it is plain by this entertainment he took them to be men. 'Tis granted Moses and Joshua are commanded to put off their shoes, and told the place was holy ground by the

angel that appeared. But the Fathers generally believed it was our Saviour under this quality and denomination. Particularly St. Justin Martyr, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and St. Athanasius declare for this opinion. Justin Martyr, *Cum Try.* Iren : lib. 4. cap. 22. Tertul. lib. *acta Judeos.* Athan. lib. 4. *Cont. Arian.* Thus the Fathers observe, that when the angels appeared, they refused adoration, as the angel that appeared to Manoa and St. John. *Judges and Revelation.* Besides it is not the same thing to worship visible and invisible angels. When they are visible there is a regard due to the superiority of their nature, to their character and message ; which reasons for regard don't hold, when they are unseen and possibly out of reach. Further Origen tells Celsus he slandered the Jews (*Origin Cont. Cels.* lib. i.) in saying they worshipped angels. "That nothing is to be worshipped but God Almighty : neither are prayers addressed to any but the sovereign being. That the right way of worshipping God is by directing our devotions to him, without any application to angels. That if we are so happy as to have God's favour, all the angels and blessed spirits will be our friends, and pray for us without application." *Ibid.* There are several texts in the Old and New Testament from whence we may conclude the worshipping of angels unlawful. Deut. iv. 13, with reference to verse 4. 1 Sam. vii. 3, where the word in LXXII. is *δεδουσατε*, which overthrows the distinction between Latria and Dulia. To these we may add Luke iv. 8, Col. ii. 18, 19, with Theodoret's comment. To mention some more of the Fathers, Irenæus (lib. 2. cap. 1.) declares expressly, "The Church did not work any miracles by invocation of angels, or by an unlawful curiosity." Theophilus Antio-

chenus gives the reason why the Christians could not adore the Emperor, "Thus because his Majesty was not God." Ad. Autoly. The council of Laodicea, Canon 25, denounced an anathema against those that worshipped angels. But here it is pretended, this Canon is only levelled against those heretics who held the angels brought salvation by delivering the law, and worshipped them exclusively of our Saviour. But that this is not the meaning of the Council may be made good. 1st. Because the Council condemns angel worship on general and comprehensive terms, without any restraining clause or limitation. Whereas had they thought it lawful in any respect, such a prudent assembly as we may reasonably collect would have distinguished the case, remarked the fault, and pointed their anathema only upon the irregularities and excesses of such a worship. 2nd. Though those that are censured are said to forsake the Church, yet this implies no more than that they held private conventicles, as the Canon intimates. For had they maintained the angels brought salvation by publishing the law, had they looked upon them as their proper and primary mediators, had they neither prayed to our Saviour, nor worshipped him, they had been no Christians. And if so, they were out of the jurisdiction of the Council. For as St. Paul says, what have we to do with them that are without? 'Tis not the custom of the Church to excommunicate Jews, pagans, or apostates: for that would be to exclude those from her society that had gone off already. And besides, her power does not extend beyond the state of Christendom. 'Tis plain therefore the anathema of the Council is levelled against those who had not wholly abandoned the worship of our Saviour; what therefore could they be condemned for but for

worshipping the angels together with him, and making more mediators in religious worship than one? St. Athanasius in his discourse against the Arians (lib. iv.) having proved, that the angels waited on our Saviour and worshipped him, adds, "They adored him not because he was an higher order than themselves, but because he was a distinct, an uncreated nature." For if dignity and height of station were sufficient ground for adoration, all inferior angels should worship their superiors. But it is not so, *κτισμα γαρ κτισματι προσκυνηται*, for one creature is not to worship another. And after he has produced the instances of St. Peter forbidding Cornelius to worship him, Acts x, and the angels forbidding St. John, Rev. xix, he concludes "That God alone is to be worshipped." Athan. Cont. Arian, pp. 286, 394, ed. Paris. Epiphanius, reporting the heresy of those that worshipped the B. Virgin, argues thus, "Neither Elias, who was carried in a fiery chariot to heaven, and is now living, nor St. John, who was particularly favoured by our Saviour, nor any of the saints is worshipped. If God does not allow angels to be worshipped, much less the daughter of Joachim." Epiph. Hæres. 79. And elsewhere he declares "that no created being ought to be worshipped." To those we shall only subjoin one testimony from St. Augustine, who though a Latin Father, was a person of great character for piety and learning, and wrote in some part of the fourth and fifth centuries. This Father remarks, "that the angel in the Revelation forbid the paying him any worship, that he was the Apostle's fellow, and that God was only to be worshipped." Aug. De Dioc. Christiana, lib. i. cap. 33. To draw towards a conclusion. As some of these testimonies expressly discountenance religious applications to saints, so

those other authorities, which point particularly upon the angels, seem by more than parity of reason, to comprehend the faithful departed under the same direction. For if the angels, whom the Scriptures declare guardians and ministering spirits, to the heirs of salvation (Ps. xxxiv, Heb. i.) are not to receive application and worship, the consequence of this prohibition will come stronger upon the saints departed, because they have no such commission for protecting mankind, no such liberty for revisiting this world, at least that we know of, and therefore our reasons for address and acknowledgment must proportionably abate. As to the texts of Scripture produced for maintaining application to the saints departed, we conceive that the proof alleged falls short of conviction. For instance, King Hezekiah, as being delivered from Senacherib's army by David, though deceased, this passage seems plainly foreign to the argument. For the text only says that God promised to defend Jerusalem for his servant David's sake and for his own sake ; but here is not the least mention, that the Jews made any application to David for his intercession, without which their Lordships' arguments can't bear. Their next citation from Acts xii, 5, where it is said that prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for St. Peter ; this proves no farther, than that one part of the Church militant prayed for another ; neither does St. Paul's desiring the Romans to join with him in prayer to God, for his deliverance from the unbelieving, reach any further. Neither do we deny any such mediation. Farther, we are willing to grant that the saints departed intercede for the faithful upon earth : but this does by no means prove, that we are to address them for this purpose, both because we may

reasonably conclude the benevolence of their nature will prompt them to assist us without religious submissions : and besides, we are not assured they are within the reach of our petitions. 'Tis too well known indeed that the ill nature of men is often such, that they will do nothing without worship and servile application : they spoil the grace of obligation by delays and distance, and morose behaviour, and sometimes there is more trouble with them than the thing is worth. They believe their greatness consists in the littleness of others, and therefore they will not part with their favours without submission : they think they are slighted when they are not flattered ; and endeavour to make up their defects in solid advantages, by haughtiness and pretending. But all this proceeds from scandalous principles, from ignorance and weakness, and malice. This climate of this miserable world does not differ more from the regions of happiness, than such a temper from those that dwell there. The blessed spirits understand their own height too well to fancy our obeisance can make any addition, are too good to have any thing of state or exceptionness in them. There has been no pride in the mansions of bliss since Lucifer was thrown out, and therefore we need not fear that those who are there will be disobliged with the omission of a little ceremony, especially when they know we do not forbear it out of disrespect but for fear of offending God. Their goodness is too absolute to clog their assistance with any encumbrance. Their greatness is without vanity, their kindness is without design, and therefore all their favours will arise unbespoken of themselves. Their generous charity is sufficient to oblige them to do their utmost : so that it is needless for us to go about to waken their bene-

ficence by importunity and homage. And whereas they assert that our Saviour's mediation relates only to original sin, and that we are to address the saints to intercede with the God of the Universe for the remission of post-baptismal sins, this assertion, with all due regard to their Patriarchal Lordships, we conceive repugnant to plain Scripture, and derogatory to the mediatorial office of our Saviour as God and man. For our blessed Saviour plainly commands the Apostles, and by consequence all the faithful, to apply immediately to God, John xiv. 13, 14, and chap. xvi. Our Saviour assures his disciples, that whatsoever they shall ask the Father in his name he will give it them. From whence our Lord continues, "Hitherto ye have asked nothing; ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full." Thus we see there is an express command for addressing God directly for all the blessings relating to this life and the other. And that the same holds for immediate application to God for the remission of post-baptismal sins, we may learn from the same Apostle, 1 Epist. ii. 1, where we are told "if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins." By the Apostle declaring, that if any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, it is evident only actual sins are meant, for original sin was contracted long before any persons were in being in St. John's time. Besides, the Apostle's affirming our Saviour to be then an advocate and propitiation for our sins manifestly implies his intercession with God the Father, for post-baptismal sins ever since his ascension.

4. As for their Patriarchal Lordships' sentiment, maintaining the bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist

being changed, after consecration, into the actual body and blood of our Saviour, nothing of the elements remaining excepting the bare accidents void of substance, we can by no means agree with their Lordships' doctrine : such a corporal presence which they call Transubstantiation having no foundation in Scripture, and being by implication, and sometimes plainly denied by the most celebrated Fathers of the Primitive Church. As to the Scripture, 'tis true our Saviour calls the Eucharistic bread and wine his body and blood, but that these words are not to be restrained in a literal sense we may collect from other places of Scripture, where our Saviour calls him a vine, an olive, and in other places of Holy Writ he is called the lamb of God, and the lion of the tribe of Judah. All which texts we doubt not, but the Oriental Church will allow must be construed to a metaphorical sense, and if these texts are to be figuratively interpreted, why not the other at the institution of the Holy Eucharist, which if restrained to the letter is no less shocking than the rest? Farther, St. Paul calls the Eucharistic element bread, even after the consecration, when it was to be received, 1 Cor. xi. 28. And to allege some testimonies from the primitive Fathers. St. Justin Martyr declares that our bodies are nourished by the consecrated bread and wine. Apo. 2. From whence the inference is plain, this Father believed the substance of the Eucharistic elements to remain after consecration. For if the doctrine of accidents had been established, which 'tis plain the primitive Fathers knew nothing of, supposing this doctrine current, which way would St. Justin Martyr conceive our bodies could be nourished by bare accidents? For accidents are out of all substance, and then which way can it be supposed a body can receive

nourishment and addition of parts from that which is no body? St. Irenæus, who lived in some part of the same second century with St. Justin, informs us the Holy Eucharist consists of two parts, an earthly and a heavenly : the first is the bread and wine, the other consists in the mystic force and efficacy conveyed by the descent of the Holy Ghost. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, it is granted, has a passage that sounds strongly towards transubstantiation. Catech. Mystic. 4. He observes, “that as our Saviour turned water into wine at Cana in Galilee, so we have no reason to question but that he gave his body and blood at the Institution. Therefore that we may be certainly assured, that we receive his body under the species of bread, and his blood under the species of wine.” But that these expressions, how strong soever, are not to be mounted to Transubstantiation, seems pretty plain from his discourse upon the Holy Chrism, Nat. Myst. 2. The words are these, “as the Eucharistic bread, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is no longer mere or common bread, but the body of Christ, so the holy ointment remains no longer mere or common ointment after the invocation, but becomes *χαρισμα* or grace of Christ, and the very presence and divinity of the Holy Spirit.” From this reasoning we may conclude, that as the Holy Chrism cannot be supposed to be raised to essence and sublimity of the deity, so neither, by the force of the comparison, can we infer, that this Father meant any more, than that the Eucharistic elements had a supernatural force and beneficial energy transfused by consecration upon them. The next testimony shall be the famous St. Chrysostom in the Epistle to Casarius. Here this Father, disputing against the heresy of Appolonaris, brings an instance, by way of illustration, from the

Holy Eucharist. "The bread," says he, "before consecration is called bread, but after it has passed through the force of the solemnity and been consecrated by the Priest, it is then discharged from the name of bread, and dignified by the name of the Lord's body, though the nature of the bread still remains in it." And thus by the form of the expression and the application of the instance, he shews clearly that he believed the nature or substance of bread remained, after the consecration. Theodoret, who is the last Greek father we shall mention, has a passage full to the same purpose. It is in his second dialogue between Orthodoxus and Eranistes: the latter of these two persons represents an Eutychian. Now by the doctrine of the Eutychian heresy our Saviour's human nature was absorbed in the Divine. To make good this point Eranistes argues from the change of the elements in the Holy Eucharist. "As the symbols of our Saviour's body," says he, "are one thing before the invocation of the Priest, but after the Prayer of consecration has passed upon them, they are changed and become another, so our Lord's body after his ascension is changed into the divine substance." "You are caughted in your own net," replies Orthodoxus, who stands for Theodoret. *Ουδε γαρ μετα τὸν ἁγίας μὲν τα μυστικά συμβόλα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξίσταται φύσεας μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, &c.* That is, "the mysterious symbols dont lose their nature upon consecration, but continue in their former substance." And to apply this matter farther, it is well known St. Chrysostom and Theodoret were never charged with any unorthodoxy or singularity of opinion with regard to the Holy Eucharist. We may therefore safely conclude, that their opinions in the matter were no other than the Catholic doctrine

of the Primitive Church. These authorities of the Eastern Fathers shall be fortified, by three of the Western Churches of famous memory. The first is Tertullian, who wrote in the beginning of the third ; the others are St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, and Gelasius the First, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries. Tertullian reports, *contra Marcion*, “that our Saviour by what he calls his body in the Holy Eucharist meant the symbol representation of his body. *Corpus meum, hoc est figura corporis mei.*” St. Augustine lays down the following rule as a maxim for interpreting Scripture. “If the text,” says he, “forbids something that is wicked and flagitious, and commands what is serviceable and beneficial, then the precept is to be literally understood ; but if it seems to command a wicked action, and forbid a good one, then it is a figurative expression.” And to apply and illustrate this maxim, he instances the text in St. John’s Gospel, chap. vi. urged sometimes in proof of the corporal presence, “Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.” “Here something very ill and inhuman seems commanded, therefore the place has a figurative meaning. The sense is, that we ought gratefully to recollect our Saviour’s passion and entertain our memory with the contemplation, that his flesh has been crucified and wounded for us.” His words are “*figura est ergo præcipica passioni ejus esse communicandum et suaviter et utiliter in memoria recollendum, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit.*” *Augus. De Doct. Christiana. Lib. iii. cap. 15.* And in the same book he expressly pronounces, “That it is not really and strictly speaking our Saviour’s body, which will not continue with him to all eternity.”

Ibid. cap. 33. From hence nothing can be more evident, than that this celebrated Father did not believe the Eucharistic elements were Transubstantiated into our Saviour's natural body. For it is granted on all hands, that the Eucharistic Sacrifice will for ever cease at the day of Judgment. For when the final decision is past, and every one's fate is fixed, where will be no more remission of sins, or need of grace against temptations, the reason for sacrificing of course must drop. And when the Eucharistic elements are no longer consecrated, the natural body of our Saviour supposed to emerge from them, can no longer be produced, and by consequence cannot continue with him to all eternity.

Pope Gelasius is no less strongly determining against Transubstantiation. This Pope, who wrote in the latter end of the 5th century, plainly declares, "the substance and nature of the bread and wine remains after consecration." 'Tis in Test. Contra Nestorium et Eutych. 'Tis true he there tells us, "the elements are changed into a divine thing," are raised to a divine offering by the operation of the Holy Ghost; which change we most willingly confess, viz. that there is a mystic virtue and supernatural force transfused upon the elements, by the Priest's pronouncing the words of consecration, and his Prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost.

As to what has been urged from these Latin Fathers, their testimony can't be justly excepted to, for since they are early in time and considerable in character, their being members of the Western Church can be no disadvantage to their authority. For they lived several centuries before a rupture between the Greek and Latin Churches. And as for their not writing in Greek, we conceive their

Patriarchal Lordships will not consider them with abatement on that score.

Our reply to the answer to the 5th Article, is, that since we cannot be convinced of any liberty for invoking the saints and paying religious worship to them, we conceive the argument lies strongly against giving relative worship or religious respect to their images. For since the prototype cannot be thus addressed, 'tis still more difficult to imagine the bare representation of such a being can claim any such honour. To proceed—That neither the worship, nor so much as the use of them, was very early in the Christian Church, is pretty plain from St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia, in Cyprus, in his letter to John of Jerusalem, where he declares strongly against this practice. “When I came into a country church of Palestine, called Anablatha, I found a certain hanging over the door, upon which there was a picture painted like that of our Saviour or some saint, for I cannot certainly remember whose picture it was. However, seeing the figure of a man in the Church of Christ, contrary to the authority of the Holy SS, I tore it, and gave orders to the church-wardens to wrap it about some corpse and bury it, &c.” And though this Father went too far in asserting the unlawfulness of having images in Churches, yet we may fairly infer, that this practice was not customary in Cyprus or Palestine in Epiphanius's time. See Council of Nice 2nd : Epiph. Hæres : 27, which last agrees with the testimony cited.

To this we may observe, that the Council of Constantinople held under Constantine Copronymus, against images, asserts, that there was no prayer in the Church Service for consecrating images, which suggestion the 2nd Council of Nice does not deny.

Baron A. D. 754. Concil. Labb. Tom. 7. And St. Augustine mentioning some superstitious Christians, (for so he calls them) says, he knew a great many who worshipped pictures." August. De Moribus Eccl. Cath. cap. 34. And for a farther declaration of our sentiments upon this article, we willingly acknowledge, that the use of images in Churches is not only lawful, but may be serviceable for representing the history of the saints, for refreshing the memory and warming the devotion of the people. And thus one reason for alleging the foregoing testimonies is not against the use, but only against the worship of images. For if the bare usage was sometimes condemned, and nowhere generally practised in the primitive Church, it follows a fortiori, that the worship of them in those early ages cannot be supposed.

And thus having represented the difference between us, we are now to suggest a temper, and offer a compromise. If our liberty is left us therefore in the instances above mentioned; if the oriental Patriarchs, Bishops, &c. will authentically declare us not obliged to the invocation of saints and angels, the worship of images, nor the adoration of the host. If they please publicly and authoritatively, by an instrument signed by them, to pronounce us perfectly disengaged in these particulars: disengaged we say, at home and abroad, in their Churches and in our own. These relaxing concessions allowed, we hope may answer the overtures on both sides and conciliate an union. And we further desire their Patriarchal Lordships, &c. would please to remember, that Christianity is no gradual religion, but was entire and perfect when the Evangelists and Apostles were deceased: and therefore the earliest traditions are undoubtedly preferable, and the first guides the best. For the stream runs

clearest towards the fountain head. Thus whatever variations there are from the original state, whatever crosses in belief or practice upon the earliest ages ought to come under suspicion. Therefore as they charitably put us in mind to shake off all prejudices, so we entreat them not to take it amiss if we humbly suggest the same advice. We hope therefore your Lordships' impartial consideration will not determine by prepossessions, or by the precedents of latter times, but rather be governed by the general usages and doctrines of the first four centuries, not excluding the 5th: that they will not think themselves unalterably bound by any solemn decisions of the East in the 8th century, which was even then opposed by an equal authority in the West. And thus presuming both parties will hold the balance and wish for truth to prove it, we are not without expectation of advancing so far towards uniformity, as may make up the unhappy breach, and close the distance between us. And to release their Patriarchal Lordships, we take leave with our most earnest prayers, "That the All-wise and Merciful God, who makes men to be of one mind in an house, who is the Author of peace and Lover of concord," may graciously please to continue their benevolent wishes, animate their zeal, and direct their measures, for finishing so glorious a work. That the orthodox oriental Church and the Catholic remnant in Britain, may at last join in the solemnities of religion, and be made more intimately one fold under our Shepherd Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen."

"This reply was concluded and delivered to some

Greeks in London, to be by them transmitted to the Four Eastern Patriarchs. May 29th, 1722."

"To the Most Venerable and Wise Bishop Arsenius, the Metropolitan of Thebais, the remnant of the Catholic Bishops and Clergy of Britain wish prosperity.

"We were much refreshed by your letter, which you sent us by the Rev. James, the Patriarchal Proto-Cyn-cellus, as being an evident testimony of the great desire you have of bringing a coalition between the catholic eastern Churches, and the catholic remnant of the British Churches to bear upon such terms as may give us both the comfortable hope of its being permanent. We have now together with this sent our answers to the four Patriarchs founded upon Holy Writ, as interpreted by the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and in such terms, as we hope, will make our sincere desires and endeavours to promote and finish a blessed concordate very apparent to them and to you. And we return you our hearty thanks, for the great pains you have been at, in bringing it this length, and doubt not of your doing your utmost to finish what you have so charitably carried on hitherto, under such discouragements from the situation of public affairs, and the great distance we are at from one another. Nor need we inform you of the many difficulties and discouragements that we have to struggle with on this occasion. For while we had the happiness of your residing amongst us, you were pretty fully apprised of a good share of them, and they are not fewer now than they were then. Yet no difficulty or discouragement of this nature shall hinder us, by God's help, from doing our utmost endeavours to promote so good

a design. It is no small grief to us, that under our present pressures we have not been able to offer such civilities to the diligent and faithful Proto-Cyncellus, as we willingly would, but he is most acceptable to us, and we have a deep sense of the great pains he has taken in this affair.

Our hopes of a happy conclusion in this affair are increased, by the generous encouragement, which we are glad to understand, his Imperial Majesty is graciously pleased to give it, and which will redound to the immortalizing of his name. And we are very sensible, that we owe his Majesty's being rightly apprized of this affair to your faithful representations of it to him, as we do his countenancing and encouraging of it to his own greatness of soul and catholic charity.

Archibaldus, Scoto-Britanniæ Episcopus.

Jacobus, Scoto-Britanniæ Episcopus.

Jeremias, Primus Anglo-Britanniæ Episcopus.

Thomas, Anglo-Britanniæ Episcopus.

Dated, A. D. 1722,
Maii Die Tricesimo."

" To the Right Honourable Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs, at His Imperial Majesty's Palace in Petersburg.

" We the underwritten Bishops of the Catholic remainder in Britain, have thought ourselves obliged, in point of regard to this right Honourable Board, to acquaint your Lordships, that by the hands of the Rev. Gennadius Archimandrita, and the Rev. Jacobus Proto-Cyncellus, we have lately received an answer from the four Patriarchs to some proposals of

ours in order to a coalition, to which answers we have now returned a reply, with a transcript of it to your Lordships: humbly desiring your Lordships would give the Greek copy the conveyance to the most reverend Patriarchs. And the design of this projected union, being apparently undertaken upon true Christian motives, without any interested views on either side, we hope your Lordships' countenance and recommendation will second our endeavours. And being sensible that some difficulties with respect to authority and expense may probably arise, which neither party are in a condition to remove, we most humbly beg His Imperial Majesty will please to condescend so far as to lend his favour and assistance. And thus having the honour of encouragement and protection from so glorious a monarch, the affair, by the blessing of God, may be conducted to a happy conclusion. And we entreat, this Right Honourable Board would please to believe we have nothing more at heart, than that the issue may prove successful, and answer the overtures made by us, who are with the greatest regard. Your Lordships' most obedient Servants."

Signatures as before.

The next Letter is addressed to Le Comte De Galowskin, the Grand Chancellor, and is as follows:

"MOST NOBLE LORD.—These are to return your Lordship our humble thanks for the trouble you have been pleased to give yourself, in promoting the union between the Orthodox Oriental Church, and the Catholic Remainder in Great Britain. And as an affair of this nature stands in need of inclination and encouragement from those, at the head both of Church

and State: so we hope your Lordship's countenance and assistance will prove considerably instrumental, for the success of so great an undertaking. We therefore humbly intreat your Lordship would please to continue your favour and protection, without which we are afraid the business must languish and miscarry. My Lord, as to the Archimandrite, we are entirely satisfied with his conduct and good intentions, and hope he will still reside with us, for the carrying on of what he has hitherto so worthily engaged in."

May 31, 1722.

*Signed as the first, only Brett's
signature is omitted.*

Next follows a Letter from Arsenius, dated June 11th 1722, expressive of his sorrow at not having received the answers to the Papers of the Patriarchs. He presses for a speedy reply. The Letter is addressed "To the Most Venerable Bishop, and Wise Brother Mr. Campbell, and all the Brethren." A Letter then follows, from the Proto-Cyncellus, who conveyed the reply to the Patriarchs. This was written from Petersburg, and commences thus: "Most Reverend Fathers." They are also in this Letter styled "Your Lordships." He states that the court was at Moscow, to which place he was about to proceed.

The next Document consists of another Letter from Arsenius, dated December 9th 1722, from Moscow. It is addressed "To the Most Reverend Brethren and Bishops beloved of God, the Lord Jeremias, the Lord Archibald, the Lord Thomas, the Lord James, and to all the rest my most beloved Sons in Christ." Arsenius states, that he had received their Letter, with the Reply to the Patriarchs in November. He mentions the absence of the Emperor from Moscow,

and promises after his return to forward their reply to the Patriarchs. In a postscript he requests, that future letters to him may be written in Latin.

The British Bishops reply to the Letter of Arsenius as follows :

“ To the Most Rev. and Holy Lord, The Lord Arsenius, &c. The Bishops of the Catholic Church of Britain wish all prosperity and happiness in Christ.

“ Your letter, most eminent Prelate, full of all love and affection, dated at Moscow, we have received with all joy and thankfulness, chiefly delighted, that so earnest a desire of peace and concord fills your heart, as that we may assuredly expect everything in your power to procure it. You have done us the greatest kindness in delivering our Letters to the most eminent Lord, the Lord Great Chancellor, to whom we are also exceedingly obliged, that of his goodness, he has promised us his favour. Nor are we less obliged to you, for your purpose to recommend our letter and our cause to the protection of His Imperial Majesty, and to incline the heart of that great Emperor to be favourable to us. We assure you, that we are not discouraged by the distance of place, or any other obstacle that may occur to obstruct an union between us, but with most earnest and sincere desires hope for an agreement, to obtain which we shall leave nothing undone, that may be done with a good conscience.

The Archimandrite Gennadius, a man worthy of all commendation, is most dear to us : and we are very sorry that the strait circumstances, under which we labour have hindered us from giving him greater testimonies of our friendship. To your labours the

most holy Patriarchs have added gifts, and of their great good will have presented us with excellent books, which kindness of theirs we shall always gratefully acknowledge.

We earnestly desire you to salute the Rev. Protocyncellus in our names: his works and labours of love are, and always shall be, written in our hearts. But you, most Reverend, go on to perfect these your offices of love. Send our answers to the most holy Patriarchs, and believe us to be exceedingly indebted to you for this. May you live prosperously and enjoy your health, may the most gracious God prosper your undertaking and grant you a long continuance here, for His Church's sake.

These things, most dear Brother, have we written to you at present. The rest of our colleagues have not subscribed their names with us, being at a great distance in the country. Yet in this, as in all other matters, they agree with us, that they have a most high esteem for you.

Jeremias, Angliæ Episcopus.

Dated, London,
Jan. 28, 1722-3.

Archibaldus, Scotiæ Episcopus."

Arsenius addressed a letter to the Bishops in reply, styling them "*the* Lord Jeremias, Lord Archibaldus, Lord Thomas, and Lord James." He states that the answers were forwarded to the Patriarchs, and that the Emperor entered most warmly into the subject. He further requests, at the wish of the Emperor, that two of their party might be sent to Russia for the purpose of mutual and friendly conferences: but to prevent the appearance of submission, he requests, that they have only power to debate the two points, on which the English Nonjuring Bishops were in doubt.

In this same letter, Arsenius mentions, that the Patriarch of Constantinople had signified to the Russian Governing Council his reception of their answers, and that they should be examined as soon as a Synod could be convened for the purpose. This letter is dated from Moscow August 25th, 1723.

The Governing Council also addressed a letter "to the Very Reverend the Bishops of the Catholic Church in Great Britain," in which they mention the forwarding of the answers to the Patriarchs written in Greek, and promise to promote the cause to the utmost of their power. They also state the Emperor's wish, that two persons should be sent to hold conferences on the points at issue. This is dated February 1723. Next year, in the month of February, they addressed another letter to the Nonjuring Bishops. It seems that the former had not been forwarded, as the Archimandrite had not been able to prosecute his journey. They express the same wish for a conference as in the previous letter. At this time the answers of the Patriarchs had been received at St. Petersburg, and were forwarded to England by the same channel. The document is addressed "To the Most Reverend the Bishops of the Catholic Church in Great Britain, our dearest brothers." It is called "The Orthodox Confession of the Apostolical, Catholic, and Oriental Church of Christ." A Synod had been assembled to consider the previous answer of the Nonjuring Bishops; and the decision was now transmitted to England. They acknowledge the reception of the Nonjurors' reply; but they add, that they have nothing further to remark, in addition to their previous answer. They state, however, that the doctrines have been decided upon, and "that it is neither lawful to add any thing to them nor take

any thing from them : and that those, who are disposed to agree with us in the divine doctrines of the orthodox faith, must necessarily follow and submit to what has been defined and determined, by ancient Fathers and the holy Œcumenical Synods, from the time of the Apostles and their holy successors, the Fathers of our Church to this time. We say they must submit to them, with sincerity and obedience, and without any scruple or dispute. And this is a sufficient answer to what you have written." With this letter they forward "An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith" of the Eastern Church, agreed upon in a Synod called the Synod of Jerusalem, 1672, and printed in 1675. With respect to "custom and ecclesiastical order, and for the form and discipline of administering the Sacraments, they will be easily settled," say they, "when once an union is effected. For it is evident from ecclesiastical history, that there have been and now are different customs and regulations in different places and churches, and that the unity of faith and doctrine is preserved the same." This letter is signed by the Patriarchs and several Archbishops and Bishops, and dated September 1723, from Constantinople. An edition of *The Synodus Bethlehemetica*, to which the letter refers, was printed at Paris in 1676 : and a translation of portions is given in the MS. translated by the Nonjurors. In this document the doctrine of Transubstantiation is strongly stated ; and the statement respecting images is similar to that contained in the previous answer of the Patriarchs. After the translation of the decision of the Synod, follows a letter from Bartholomew Cassano, alluding to his services, and requesting the Bishops to give him a commission to act in their behalf. The next document is a letter to the Archi-

mandrite, the uncle of Cassano, requesting him to allow his nephew to accompany their brethren to Russia. It is as follows.

“REV. SIR,—We earnestly desire you to send your kinsman, Bartholomew Cassano, to accompany our two brethren to Russia to be their interpreter in our common affairs, which will be pleasing to us, and necessary for them.

“Your brothers in Christ, and most humble servants,

Archibaldus, Episcopus Scoto-Britannicæ.
Jeremias, Primus Anglo-Britannico Episcopus.”

The next document is a letter to Arsenius at Petersburg.

“We cannot but acknowledge the great obligations we lie under to your Lordship, for so long continuance in Muscovy, in order to promote an happy union betwixt our Church and your own. For by that means we have been enabled to treat with the most holy Patriarchs of the East, in a much better manner, than we could have hoped for by any other means. It is your merit and interest, next to your own innate goodness, that has obtained for us the favour of the great Emperor of Russia, and has engaged him to condescend to take notice of us, and not only to order the transmission of our letters to the most holy Patriarchs, and the return of their answers, but also to encourage the sending two persons to confer with such as may be appointed to discourse the matters, wherein any difference remains. Accordingly we acquainted the Rev. Archimandrite and Proto-Cyncellus, that we would send them. But one

of those, whom we had chosen for that purpose being at a great distance, it was so long before he was arrived and could settle his private affairs, as made their coming this summer impracticable. But if it please God, they will not fail to wait on you as early as conveniently may be the next summer. In the mean time, we must desire you to make an apology for us to the Emperor, the Chancellor, and the great Synod, that they may not think us negligent in an affair of such moment, which indeed we have much at heart. May Almighty God pour forth his blessing upon our endeavours, upon you, and upon all who have a helping hand to the advancement of this great work. We commit your Lordship to his protection, and subscribe ourselves,

Jeremias, Primus-Anglo-Britanniæ Episcopus.

Thomas, Anglo-Britanniæ Episcopus.

Johannes, Anglo-Britanniæ Episcopus.

July 13, 1724."

They also addressed a letter to the Ecclesiastical Synod of Russia.

"MY LORDS,—'Twas with no small satisfaction we received your Lordships' letters. The honour of your correspondence, and the indication of your zeal for a coalition, are strong motives for an acknowledgment, and make the prospect look not unpromising. And since an union is thus earnestly desired on both sides, we hope the means of effecting it may not prove impracticable. To close the breaches made in the Catholic Church is a glorious undertaking, and which nothing but the parting with essential truths ought to prevent. And though there may be a distance remaining in some few branches of belief, a

charitable latitude may be left open for the repose of conscience and reviving an harmony in worship. And thus we may join in all the offices of communion and walk in the house of God as friends.

As to his Imperial Majesty, none can be more sensible of his condescending goodness and princely generosity than ourselves, and for which we entreat our most humble thanks may be returned.

'Tis without regret, that we cannot send two of our clergy to wait on your Lordships this summer, pursuant to what we promised the Rev. Archimandrite and Proto-Cyncellus, but accidents unforeseen will sometimes happen, and which we hope you will please to excuse. The case is this: one of the gentlemen came but lately to town, and could not possibly put his private concerns in any tolerable order till the season for his voyage would be past. But as soon as the next spring presents fair, they will certainly, God willing, attend your Lordships, with our worthy friend Mr. Cassano. We own ourselves much obliged to the Proto-Cyncellus for the great fatigue and hazard he has undergone in this affair: and are sorry our circumstances would not give us leave to shew the marks of our regard with better significancy. And the same we likewise add with reference to the Archimandrite and his nephew. This latter at his coming will more particularly acquaint you with some disadvantages we lie under, and give further assurance how much we are, my Lords, your Lordships' most humble and obedient servants,
Archibaldus Scoto Britanniaë Episcopus.

Jeremias, Primus Angliæ Episcopus.

Thomas, Angliæ Episcopus.

Johannes, Angliæ Episcopus."

July 13, 1724.

A Letter was also addressed to the Chancellor.

“MY LORD. The lustre and interest of your station in the Emperor of Great Russia’s Court, makes us repeat our address, and humbly solicit your Lordship’s recommendation of the endeavours for a coalition between the Great Muscovitic and Britannic Churches. To this we are the more encouraged by your Lordship’s disposition to promote that Christian design. We are likewise deeply sensible of his Imperial Majesty’s condescension and bounty, and for the liberty his Majesty is pleased to give us for debating matters with some of the Russian clergy, and concerting measures for settling the union. This indulging a personal conference is a fresh instance of his Imperial Majesty’s goodness, and will prevent the delay of corresponding by letters.”

They specify, as in the preceding letters, the cause of the delay : and subscribe themselves as before. They then add a receipt for Books.

“The names underwritten testify that we Bishops of the Britannic Churches have received from the hands of James, the Rev. Proto-Cyncellus of Alexandria, four very learned Books, which were sent hither as a present for the use and benefit of the Catholic remainder of our Church, by the most Blessed Lord, the Lord Chrysanthus, Patriarch of the Church of Jerusalem, and with the greatest care and faithfulness delivered to us by the Rev. Proto-Cyncellus, for which we acknowledge many thanks to be due, and freely give them. Dated the 13th of the month of July in the year of Christ 1724.”

This document was signed by the four Bishops as before : then the following minute occurs, dated March 8th, 1724-5 :

“Mr. Cassano is desired to write that we were ready till the melancholy news arrived of the Emperor’s death, which has put a stop to the affairs till we receive fresh directions from court.”

They also wrote to the Synod on the same subject.

“We are sensibly affected with the melancholy account of the great Emperor of Russia’s death, and heartily condole with your Lordships upon this unhappy occasion, though we hope the loss may be made up by the accession of her Imperial Majesty to his throne. This misfortune has put a stop to the affair between us till we receive fresh directions, and know your Lordships’ pleasure. For which purpose we have desired our worthy friend Mr. Cassano to wait upon your Lordships, upon whose fidelity and care we entirely rely. We commend your Lordships to the Divine protection, and remain, &c. April 11th, 1725.”

This letter was subscribed by the four Bishops, like the preceding, and in the same form. A letter of similar import was also addressed by the same parties to the Chancellor : and another to Arsenius as follows :

“’Tis with great concern that we received the news of the Emperor of Russia’s death, which has put a stop to our affair till we have fresh directions from that court. We have now by our friend Mr. Cassano sent a letter to the Holy Synod and another

to the Great Chancellor, of which he can give your Lordship a full account. We desire that your Lordship would be pleased to inform us of the situation of affairs, so far as relates to the religious negotiation between us, and shall always think ourselves happy in the continuance of your friendship and favour. We commit your Lordship to the divine protection, and shall always remain, &c."

This Letter was dated April 11, 1725, and signed by three of the four Bishops. The Chancellor acknowledges the receipt of the Letter to him under the date of September 16, 1725, in which, after expressing his thanks to the Bishops, whom he styles Lords, for their sympathy respecting the Emperor, he assures them that the affair of the union will be promoted by her Imperial Majesty in the same way as by her predecessor.

No further steps, however, were taken, and the matter was dropped. At the end of the correspondence between the Nonjurors and the Eastern Church there is an index of the various papers. It is stated, too, that the papers were written some in Greek, some in Latin, and some in English, though in the collection prefixed all were in English. After the index is an account of Arsenius.

"Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais, was sent in 1712, by Samuel, Patriarch of Alexandria, from Grand Cairo in Egypt, to represent to the Protestant Princes and States in Europe the truly deplorable circumstances of the Greek Church under the severe tyranny and oppression of the Turks, and to solicit a sum of money, particularly for the Patriarchal See of Alexandria brought under a load of debt of 30,000 dollars, by one Cosmo, formerly Archbishop of Mount

Sinai, his pretending to deprive said Samuel of his right to the Patriarchate of Alexandria and to take possession for himself, having by the force of money procured himself to be invested by the Grand Vizier in said Patriarchal throne, whose Clergy made a noble stand for their Patriarch, Samuel, and would not suffer him to be deprived by his adversary. For which cause, to raise money, Samuel was forced to sell and lay in pawn many of the sacred vessels, patriarchal habits, and other utensils of the Church. Cosmo at length renounced all title to Alexandria, and was then duly elected Patriarch of Constantinople, upon which a firm peace and friendship commenced between Samuel and him. At what particular time Arsenius arrived in England I have not yet discovered, but that he was in London in 1714, and 1716 is very certain. He received from Anne, £300 Sterling, and from George I. £100, for the Church of Alexandria. But Arsenius by his long stay in London, being nine in family, had contracted debts for necessary subsistence on the most ordinary food: for the payment of which he was obliged to apply in the way of humble petition to all charitable and tender-hearted Christians. He was attended by Father Gennadius (whom I take to be the one called the Archimandrite in the foregoing correspondence) Abbot of the monks of the See of Alexandria, and by Deacons and other domestics. All this is set forth at large in a 4to. Pamphlet of twenty pages including title page and preface, intitled ‘*Lachrymæ et Suspiria Ecclesiæ Græcæ*; or the distressed State of the Greek Church humbly represented in a Letter to her late Majesty Queen Anne.’ Printed at London, 1715.

“Not only the death of the Czar, put a stop to the much desired union between the Greek Church and

British Nonjurors : but likewise the indiscretion of the Patriarch of Jerusalem in writing to Wake then Archbishop of Canterbury, and sending copies of proposals to him, &c. quite knocked that scheme in the head. Wake behaved with great prudence and discretion in the case, not exposing the papers nor suffering them to be ridiculed.

“I have frequently heard that the late Right Reverend Dr. Thomas Rattray, of Craighall, having been in London in 1716, assisted Mr. Spinkes in translating into Greek the proposals from the Nonjurors to the Oriental Church.”

Thus the MS. account of the correspondence closes. My object was to exhibit the views, and feelings of the Nonjurors, which is fully attained by the plan, which I have adopted. The answers sent by the Patriarchs do not bear on the History of the Nonjurors: but merely contain the opinions of the Oriental Church, the nature of which will be gathered from the replies of the English Nonjuring Bishops. While, therefore, I have omitted the greater part of the documents from the East, alluding to them only for the purpose of elucidation, I have submitted the whole of the correspondence on the part of the Nonjurors, because I feel convinced, that any thing from them, not generally known, must be received with favour by the public.

The pamphlet to which Brett alludes is a curious document. The writer of the preface zealously espoused the cause of Arsenius, as a few extracts will testify. “The following papers set forth the deplorable circumstances of the Greek Church of Alexandria, venerable for a most ancient and uninterrupted succession of Bishops from the Apostles, who have handed down the Christian faith, doctrine and discipline as pure as any other part of the Christian

world." The late Queen had given £300, of which £200 were still in the hands of the Bishop of London. George I. had also given £100 for the same object, namely, for the Church of Alexandria, so that these sums could not be appropriated to the payment of the Archbishop's debts. The writer then mentions, as a motive to charity, the benefits received from that Church. "If we have profited by the labours of the learned and pious Fathers of that Church; if we have been obliged to Clemens, Origen, Dionysius, Athanasius, Cyril, Chrysostom and others, for handing down the faith of the Church in opposition to heretics and infidels; we are obliged to them for Spiritual things, and ought now to minister unto them in carnal things." The Petition is addressed, "To the Most Noble, Most Reverend, Honourable and Worthy, the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, and Commons, Citizens or Strangers, in the kingdom of England whose hearts God hath touched with divine love and charity, to commiserate the distresses of their afflicted brethren." The Petition then gives a summary of the facts of the case: that the Archbishop was sent by the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1712, to represent the sad state of the Greek Church under the tyranny of the Turks: that the expences of so long a journey had involved him in debts which had been contracted on the credit of what he and his family, being nine in number, had expected to receive: and that the state of public affairs had been a hindrance to obtaining the relief, which they had anticipated. The document is dated August 18, 1715. In the petition the Church of England is described as "for orthodoxy and piety, famed over the earth." With the Petition of Arsenius is coupled the Letter from the Patriarch of Alexandria, to Queen Anne, in which a most deplorable account is given of

the sufferings of the Greek Church in Alexandria. Further the Patriarch's statement is attested by the British Consuls at Cairo, and Tripoli, as well as the Consul for the Netherlands at Tunis. The results of this application to the British public I cannot state.*

The preceding correspondence concerning the projected union is a sufficient refutation of the malignant charge of Popery, so frequently alleged against the Nonjurors. Some of them held peculiar opinions, on what were termed the *Usages*; but even this section was no more inclined towards Rome, than the parties, by whom the charge has been alleged. If indeed actions are to be regarded as the criterion of principles, then the Dissenters of the period of the Revolution for supporting King James, and those of the present day for uniting with Romanists, are much more obnoxious to the charge than the Nonjurors, who ever acted consistently with their principles, in opposition both to Popery and Dissent. The parties, who make this charge, who are generally Dissenters, or Churchmen of lax principles, to whom the Church and Dissent are equally agreeable, should remember the period of the Revolution, when, but for the exertions of many, who became Nonjurors, Popery must have prevailed in England. Undoubtedly some of the Nonjurors were uncharitable in speaking of the Church of England: but they are not, on that account, by way of retaliation, to be charged with errors, of which they were innocent. While we la-

* The full Title of the Pamphlet is as follows. “*Lachrymæ et Suspiria Ecclesiæ Græcæ: or the Distressed State of the Greek Church. Humbly represented in a Letter to Her late Majesty, Queen Anne, from the Patriarch of Alexandria: by the hands of Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais, now residing in London.*” London. Printed in the year, 1715.

ment the bitterness, into which they were sometimes betrayed, we need not copy their example. On the contrary, it behoves us to remember the sufferings, which they so patiently endured, and the many provocations to which they were subjected.

The correspondence also furnishes evidence of the straitened circumstances of the Nonjurors, as well as of the suspicion and severity of the government. They had not the means even of shewing ordinary hospitality to the foreigners, with whom they were in communication respecting the union with the Oriental Church. This is mentioned incidentally in their letters: and they distinctly state, that their circumstances, with respect to liberty of conscience, were in no way improved. If, therefore, these conscientious men were sometimes betrayed into a tone of speaking, which cannot be justified, their circumstances should be remembered, not in the way of justification, but by way of palliation. But after all, their conduct presented a striking contrast to that of many of their opponents, for whose rancour, and malice, and bitterness, no excuse can be pleaded.





CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1720—1800.

THE NONJURORS DIVIDED INTO TWO COMMUNIONS.—BOTH ORDAIN BISHOPS.—DEATH OF COLLIER; OF SPINKES; OF LESLIE; OF LAURENCE HOWELL.—THE SUCCESSION CONTINUED.—THE DIVISIONS ON USAGES CEASE.—COMMUNION OFFICE GENERALLY ADOPTED.—BLACKBURN AND LAW.—ORME.—JENKIN.—DEATH OF GANDY; OF SAMUEL PARKER.—ACCOUNT OF HEARNE.—HARTE.—CONTROVERSIES.—WATERLAND AND SMITH.—NONJURORS AGAIN DIVIDED.—LAWRENCE A BISHOP OF THE SEPARATISTS.—HIS WORKS ON LAY-BAPTISM.—DEATH OF BRETT; OF BAKER.—THE REBELLION, 1745.—SUFFERINGS OF THE NONJURORS.—DEACON.—HIS WORKS.—BLACKBURN'S DEATH. GEORGE SMITH'S DEATH.—LINDSAY.—HIS WORKS.—CONTROVERSIES.—WILLIAM LAW.—CARTE THE HISTORIAN.—THE PRETENDER.—QUESTION RESPECTING HIS RELIGIOUS VIEWS.—HIS DEATH.—GORDON, THE LAST BISHOP OF THE REGULAR BODY.—THE LINE CEASES.—BISHOPS OF THE SEPARATISTS' LINE.—EXTINCTION OF THIS LINE, AND OF THE PARTY IN ENGLAND.—SERVICES RENDERED BY THE NONJURORS.



THE Nonjuring communion was now broken into two sections, under their respective leaders. Both parties were hostile to the National Church: but Spinkes, with his supporters, dissented only on the questions of the Oaths and the Prayers for the reigning Sovereign; while Collier and Brett, and those who concurred with them, introduced, as we have seen, a *New Communion Office*, involving several important practices, which had been deliberately rejected by the Church

of England. After this separation, much bitterness was manifested in the controversy, which was carried on between the two sections: and some from both parties sought refuge in the bosom of the National Church. The *Usages* may be regarded as matters of indifference: still I cannot but think, that Collier and Brett, who had subscribed to the Book of Common Prayer, should have yielded their own private views and feelings for the sake of union and peace. They contended, that the alterations from the first Liturgy of King Edward were made to suit the prejudices of Calvin: but they should have remembered, that the Book of Common Prayer was subjected to revision in 1661, when no such influence was in operation. Whatever may have been the influence of the foreign Reformers in 1551, when Edward's Book was revised, it cannot be alleged, that the Convocation in 1661 was in any way swayed by the opinions of Calvin.

After the separation, therefore, the two sections proceeded, in their respective courses, as two distinct parties, differing as widely from each other, as both differed from the National Church. The one party adopted the New Communion Book, the other adhered to the Book of Common Prayer.

As a matter of course, each party took steps to continue the succession of Bishops. In the year 1720 Hilkiah Bedford and Ralph Taylor were consecrated among those who rejected the usages, by Spinkes, Hawes, and Gandy. Hawes died in 1722, and Bedford in 1724.

In the year 1722, the other section also proceeded to increase the number of their Bishops, and John Griffin was consecrated by Collier, Brett, and the Scottish Bishop Campbell.

Being once divided, other minor separations or subdivisions soon followed. Thus in 1723-4 Robert Welton was consecrated a Bishop by Ralph Taylor, who, contrary to the canons of the Church, took upon himself to act in his individual capacity. No precedent could be pleaded for such a proceeding, which must, therefore, be regarded as an innovation on the practice of the universal Church, from the Apostolic age. Talbot also was consecrated by Taylor and Welton. These consecrations, therefore, were viewed as irregular, and uncanonical. It appears, that Taylor and Welton were never recognized as Bishops, by the rest of the body: yet both exercised the Episcopal functions in the American Colonies. The government, at the desire of the Bishop of London, at length interposed, when Welton retired to Portugal, where he died in 1726, and Taylor returned to the communion of the National Church.^a The particulars of Welton's removal from the Rectory of St. Mary's Whitechapel have already been detailed. Taylor was for some time chaplain to the Protestants at the Court of St. Germain's.^b

Collier died in the year 1726. Many particulars respecting him and his writings are recorded in the preceding chapters. His *Church History* is still one of our most, if not the most valuable, of our ecclesiastical histories: and all his works display talents of no ordinary kind. He was one of the most conspicuous actors in the controversies, which had been carried on since the Revolution. As he refused to surrender himself to the government, he lived in a state of outlawry for several years, though perhaps the authorities were not anxious to secure his person. He was as

^a Perceval's Apostolical Succession, 224.

^b Noble, 150.

long as he survived, the leader of that section of the Nonjurors, by whom the *Usages* were introduced.

The next year, 1727, witnessed the death of Spinkes, who had been Collier's chief antagonist on the subject of the *Usages*. Thus the labours and the controversies of these two eminent men were terminated, by the last messenger, at nearly the same period. Spinkes was in no way inferior to Collier in learning and ability. In the controversy respecting the *Usages*, he advocated a strict adherence to the Book of Common Prayer. He was often in great pecuniary distress: but he never swerved from his principles. The fund for the relief of the Nonjuring Clergy, of which some account has been given, was managed by Spinkes. It has been remarked, in reference to his consecration as a Bishop, "happy would it have been for any Diocese had he been legally appointed to it." The following description of his person and acquirements is full of interest: "he was low of stature, venerable of aspect, and exalted in character. He had no wealth, few enemies, many friends. He was orthodox in his faith: his enemies being judges. He had uncommon learning and superior judgment: and his exemplary life was concluded by a happy death. His patience was great: his self denial greater: his charity still greater: though his temper seemed his cardinal virtue (a happy conjunction of constitution and grace), having never been observed to fail him in a stage of nine and thirty years." He was buried on the North side of the cemetery of St. Paul's Church, London.^c

Charles Leslie's death occurred somewhat earlier;

^c Noble, iii, 148, 149. Some of his works are still among the most popular writings in our language.

but this appears to be the place for the remaining particulars of this eminent man. His abilities were of no common order, and the greatest industry marked his whole life ; for a very large number of Tracts and pamphlets, relative to the various points at issue between the Nonjurors and their opponents, proceeded from his pen, all of them displaying talents of no ordinary kind. His various practical works, as well as those controversial pieces, which relate to the Church of Rome and the Dissenters, are too well known to require a particular notice. His Theological works were collected and published in two volumes, *Folio*, in the year 1721. Leslie was the son of the Bishop of Clogher. Previous to the Revolution he acted with great zeal against Popery : and it would be well, if those, who charge the Nonjurors with leaning towards Rome, were as free from the imputation themselves. On one occasion, when a Roman Catholic had been nominated by King James to the office of sheriff, he was actually carried to the Sessions, though labouring under disease at the time, and took his place as a Magistrate upon the Bench. When the proposed Sheriff was questioned respecting his qualification, he replied, "That he was of the King's own religion, and that it was his Majesty's will that he should be Sheriff." Leslie answered, "that they were not inquiring into his Majesty's religion, but whether he had qualified himself according to law."^d After his deprivation, he occasionally visited King James, and also his son the Pretender : on which account, and in consequence of some of his writings, he became obnoxious to the government ; so that, in the

^d Biog. Brit. Art. Leslie. A list of his works is given in that article. Nichols, i. 195, 6. Salmon, ii. 122.

year 1713, he deemed it necessary, for his own safety, to quit the country. Proceeding to the Continent, he resided in the Pretender's court, and was permitted, for a time, to perform divine service in a private chapel, according to the rites of the Anglican Church. In the year 1721 or 1722 he returned to Ireland, his native country. The *Rehearsal*, a periodical paper, was his production. He died on the 13th of April, 1722.

Laurence Howell's death occurred also during the reign of George I. His heavy sentence has already been mentioned. The degrading part of it, however, was remitted by his Majesty: but the prisoner died in Newgate in the year 1720. Whatever may have been his conduct with respect to the government, it appears, that his punishment was far heavier than the offence merited. His various works testify that he was a man of most extensive acquirements. His *Synopsis Canonum* is a most valuable production. Two volumes were published, the one in 1709, the other in 1710: and a third was actually in the press, when it was accidentally destroyed by fire. In 1715, however, the third volume was announced in the following manner: "The MS. copy of the third and last volume of Mr. Howell's *Synopsis Can. Concil. Eccles. Græc. Lat.* being burnt in White Fryars Jan. 1712, this is to give notice, that Mr. Howell hath once more finished the third volume."* The author was not discouraged by the loss of one copy of his manuscript, but immediately commenced the laborious task of re-writing the volume. One of his works, *The History of the Pontificate*, is directed against the pretensions of Rome, and may be appealed to in refutation of the silly charge of Popery against the Nonjurors. In the

* Nichols, i. 105, 106.

Preface he says, " Among the many remarkable impresses of truth our Church bears, it is one, that she does not blindfold her proselytes, but leaves them the use of their faculties ; and does not, by intruding on them an implicit belief, force them to lay down their reason, when they take up their faith."^f

After Collier's death, it became necessary to consecrate other Bishops in that section, of which he had been the leader. Accordingly, in 1727, Thomas Brett, *junior*, was consecrated by Brett, *senior*, Griffin, and Campbell : and, in 1731, Timothy Mawman was set apart to the Episcopal Office, by the two Bretts and George Smith.

The other section, both being anxious to continue the succession, applied to the Bishops in Scotland, and, in the year 1726, Henry Doughty was consecrated by four Scottish Prelates to assist their friends in England. During the same year, John Blackburn and Henry Hall were consecrated by Spinkes, Gandy, and Doughty. After the death of Spinkes, the leader of this section, Richard Rawlinson, was consecrated in 1728, by Gandy, Doughty, and Blackburn ; and George Smith, by Gandy, Blackburn, and Rawlinson.

It appears, that Smith assisted the Bishops of the other line in consecrating Mawman in 1731 : so that the disputes respecting the *usages* must have subsided. This is evident also from a letter of Carte's,

^f The History of the Pontificate : from its supposed beginning, to the end of the Council of Trent, Anno Domini 1563, in which the corruptions of the Scriptures and sacred antiquity, forgeries in the councils, and incroachments of the Court of Rome on the Church and State, to support their infallibility, supremacy, and other modern doctrines, are set in a true light. By Laurence Howell, A. M. 8vo. London, 1716.

written in the same year, and addressed to Corbet Kynaston. "I sent you word just as I left this place in July, of the opposition made by some Presbyters to the re-union among the Nonjurors, all whose Bishops agreed in it except I. B. a copy of whose letter I send you in this. I must now acquaint you with what passed after I left the Town. Those of their Presbyters that opposed it, drew up a representation against it, a very pompous empty declamation (the penman supposed to be Mr. William Law) and got in several to sign it, who had appeared friends to the union before : but Mr. J. Creyk has a great influence, having the disposal of a great deal of money, left by Mrs. Pincham and others to be distributed to the Nonjurors.

"After this representation was sent, answer was made to it both by Dr. Brett and Mr. Smith of Durham, in which it was proved that what was desired was no alteration, for a declaration of their sense in interpreting any passage of the Liturgy was no alteration in it : nor in reality was the mixture any : for in King Edward's Liturgy, after water had been mixed with the wine, in the sight of all the people, the rubrick went on to say, "Then shall the Priest put the bread and wine on the Table." Here the word wine was certainly used for the mixed cup. In the second Liturgy of King Edward, all this rubrick was left out, and no directions at all given about the cup : and so it stood, till after the Restoration. Then the word "oblations" was added to the Prayer for the Church Militant, and to prevent the Clerk or Sexton's placing the elements on the Altar, which they considered as an oblation, a rubrick was made directing the Priest to place the bread and wine on the Altar. So it stands now ; and yet I cannot see that the term

wine can now be interpreted to exclude the mixture, when in King Edward's first Liturgy it undeniably expressed it. And yet this mixture is the only thing that looks like an alteration: so that the great stir made in the representation about giving up the Church of England, has something in it ridiculous as well as intemperate.

“The country Layman reflected on in the representation, is Mr. Smith of Durham, an excellent man, and what his learning is, his notes upon Bede's Ecclesiastical History sufficiently shew. Endeavours were made to get the Presbyters to recede from this representation, and there were hopes of succeeding, when Mr. B. sent the inclosed letter to Mr. Gandy, and therein quoted a passage, which he says was written by our master's direction. This knocked all on the head again. Now I can hardly think that our master ever gave such directions; or if he did, the affair must have been strangely misrepresented to him. I could wish, therefore, it was stated to him in its true light, for then I am persuaded he would give his approbation of it, and if he did, and that was once signified here, the union would be brought about, and executed here without any difficulty. This is therefore a very material point, and I should be very glad to have the matter cleared up, this pretence of his being averse to it being the main obstacle to so desirable an union. I sent you the terms before, so that I need not repeat them, only I shall mention one alteration I proposed, to get over Mr. Blackburn's objection: it was to be declared that the words in the Prayers for the Church Militant, “that we with them may be partakers” should be understood in the same sense as those in the Burial Office. Mr. B. saying he did not

understand them in the same sense, I proposed it to be expressed thus, in a sense agreeable to that passage in the Burial Office: he could not oppose this without making the Church inconsistent, so my amendment was agreed to. I wish you could communicate this to our friend, to whom I desire my humble duty may be acceptable: and if something could still be done in this affair, it would be infinitely to the satisfaction of, Dear Sir, yours entirely, Thomas Carte.”^g

This is an interesting letter. Law was among the opponents of the Union, because the Usagers proposed it on their own terms. It does not appear that there was to be any thing like mutual concession. Undoubtedly the majority of the Nonjurors were *Usagers*, but as Law and Blackburn never yielded, we may infer that the two Communions yet continued distinct: Carte was among those who adopted the *usages*. Probably, Mr. Kynaston, to whom the letter was written, had access to the Pretender, who is called, by Carte, their master. In the Lockhart Papers, there is evidence, that the Pretender was displeased at these internal disputes: but Carte imagines, that the question had not been fairly represented. It is clear, therefore, that the New Communion Office was now adopted by some of those who had previously rejected it: and “it is mentioned,” says Mr. Perceval, “that in 1733, all the Nonjuring Bishops of this time were in communion, except Blackburn, who stood alone, but on what account is not stated.”^h It is, I think, clear from Carte’s letter, that Blackburn stood apart on the ground of the *usages*, which were made terms of com-

^g Nichols’s Illustrations, v. 155—157.

^h Perceval’s Apostolical Succession, 225.

munion, and to which he could not consent. Having acted and agreed with Spinkes, he could not relinquish the use of the Office of the Anglican Church.

George I. died in 1727 ; but the state of the Nonjurors continued the same under his successor George II. at least for several years after his accession. The case of Atterbury scarcely falls within my province ; for though he secretly favoured the Pretender, he was not a Nonjuror. It may, however, be adduced as a proof, that it was possible to regard the Pretender's claims with favour, without going over to the Church of Rome. In his exile, though every temptation was presented to him, he remained firm in his attachment to the Anglican Church, dying in the year 1731.

About the time that the two sections of the Nonjurors became united, several of the body were removed by death. Mr. Orme died in the year 1733. He had been deprived under King William for declining the Oath of Allegiance. The following extract from a letter to Bowyer the Printer, on occasion of his great loss from the destruction of his Printing Office, furnishes a striking picture of the man. "Jan. 31, 1712. I mourn for your misfortune : I hope our loving God will sanctify it to you, and that your great loss will in the end be your great gain. I doubt not but you are more a Christian than not to bear this or any other worldly loss, with such patience as becomes our holy profession, and the disciples of our blessed Lord and Redeemer." He was a man of great meekness, gentleness, and piety.¹

Of the same character was Robert Jenkin, D.D. He became Chaplain to Bishop Lake ; but lost his preferment, subsequent to the Revolution, in conse-

¹ Nichols, i. 52, 53.

quence of his refusal to take the Oath of Allegiance. He was one of the subscribers to the Bishop's dying declaration. On quitting his living he retired to his fellowship in St. John's College, Cambridge, the Oath not being required, unless the Bishop of Ely, the visitor of his College, should deem it necessary to exact a compliance. By a statute of the College moreover the Bishop was not at liberty to visit, unless called upon to do so by a majority of the fellows: so that many individuals retained their fellowships after they had been removed from parishes. At length he complied, and took the Oath to Queen Anne. About the same time he was chosen Master of his College. On the accession of George I. an act was passed, enjoining all persons, who held a post of the value of five pounds per annum, to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration: so that Dr. Jenkin was under the painful necessity of ejecting some of the fellows. This was to him a most distressing step: for having experienced the same scruples himself, he keenly felt for those who could not take the Oaths. Baker probably and others would have complied, if the Oath of Abjuration had not been imposed. Besides the "*Defence of the Profession*" of Bishop Lake, he wrote several other works. The *Reasonableness of the Christian Religion* is well known to those, who are conversant in such studies. He died in the year 1727.^k

Henry Gandy, who, after Spinkes, was perhaps one of the ablest of the opponents of the *Usages*, died in the year 1733. It is singular, that Granger and Noble should have represented him as a Roman Catholic. The preceding pages prove him to have been one of the best divines of the period.^l

^k Nichols, iv. 241—248.

^l Noble, iii. 173.

In the same year also died Samuel Parker at Oxford. He was the son of the Bishop of Oxford, whose proceedings in the case of Magdalen College, in the reign of King James, rendered him somewhat notorious. His particular friends were Hickes, Collier, Dodwell, Leslie, Nelson, and Grabe: with whom he was accustomed to associate, being engaged, as they also were, in learned and laborious pursuits. His works were various and valuable, but perhaps the most important is his *Bibliotheca Biblica*.^m It is thought that his death was hastened by his great exertions in writing this learned work. To the last volume of his *Bibliotheca Biblica*, published after his decease, a sketch of his life is prefixed, in which the writer says: "he had from the beginning embraced the principles of the Nonjurors, and as he constantly observed a strict uniformity in his principles and practice, he thought himself obliged to refuse those advantages of preferment, which not only his parts and education seemed to entitle him to, but which were actually offered to him." The same writer, alluding to the *Bibliotheca*, says, "In short it was the unhappy occasion of his death." The following MS. memorandum is written on the flyleaf of a copy of the *Bibliotheca* now before me: "On Tuesday, Oct.—1733. Died at Oxon, of the Dropsie, the great and learned Mr. Samuel Parker, son of the Bishop of Oxford of that name, and author of various learned

^m *Bibliotheca Biblica*. Being a Commentary upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament. Gathered out of the genuine Writings of the Fathers, and Ecclesiastical Historians, and Acts of Councils, down to the year of our Lord 451, being that of the fourth General Council: and Lower, as occasion may require, &c. 4to. Oxford, 1720. Six Volumes only, including the Pentateuch, were published.

works, particularly this *Bibliotheca Biblica*, of which he published several parts, a proof of his excellent learning and skill in the eastern languages and customs: he refused the Oaths at the Revolution, and lived retired ever since at Oxford, well esteemed for several valuable qualifications, particularly his art of pleasing in conversation. I had the honour and happiness to be intimately acquainted with him. HEN. FISHER."

Many of the Nonjurors resided in the Universities, in order that they might enjoy the advantages of the Public Libraries. Being engaged in learned pursuits, and having no means of purchasing books, they necessarily took up their abode in such places as Oxford and Cambridge. John Wesley said in the early period of his life, that "*Oxford was paved with the skulls of Jacobites.*" He evidently alluded to the number of Nonjurors residing in that city. Unquestionably there was a bright constellation of talent among the Nonjurors in Oxford in those days—men who preferred poverty to perjury, and living in obscurity, with a good conscience, to station and worldly honour.

Hearne died in the year 1735, in his rooms in St. Edmund's Hall. His case may be cited as an instance of the difficulties, in which many good men were placed by the Oaths. Though he would not have assisted in restoring the Pretender, yet he could not swear allegiance to the reigning Sovereign. On this account he declined the chaplaincy of Corpus Christi College, with some other important posts. At one time, however, he had entertained different views: and these had been expressed in a manuscript, which had been sent to Cherry, at whose death it came into the possession of parties, who were anxious to damage

the author's reputation. Cherry's papers were left by will to the Bodleian Library : and Hearne asserted his claim to this paper on the ground, that it had not been given to his friend. The Curators pleaded the will, though, on examination, it was found that the MS. was not specified. The truth is, his enemies were resolved on publishing the paper, though Hearne had expressed his disavowal of the views of his earlier years. In the year 1731 it was actually published with a preface, in which sneering allusions were made to the author's change of views.ⁿ "His reasons for compliance (how weak soever in the eyes of a different persuasion) were doubtless good in his own : and if he has discovered better now for refusing the Oath, than he before gave for the taking it, 'tis an argument, I think, of his constant inquiry after truth, and of his discharging his conscience as he improves in knowledge." The publication did him no harm ; but only exhibited the bitterness of his enemies. The publisher of the work expressly declares that it was left to the Bodleian by will, though it was not mentioned, and it is questionable whether Mr. Cherry had any such power to dispose of it, and certainly he would not have exposed his friend, by placing such a document within the reach of his detractors. "Why Mr. Cherry," says the writer, "should suffer this letter to be placed in a public library (where he knew every thing was to be seen) had he not apprehended it to be for Mr. Hearne's credit, I cannot conceive." The writer knew that Mr. Cherry did not intend to leave

ⁿ A Vindication of those who take the Oath of Allegiance to his present Majesty from Perjury, Injustice and Disloyalty, charged upon them by such as are against it. In a Letter to a Nonjuror, 8vo. Printed in the year 1731.

that particular paper to the public library: and, therefore, alluding to this fact, which he speaks of as a rumour, he expresses himself satisfied with the Register of Benefactors, in which the bequest is recorded. Not content with attempting to injure him while living, his enemies traduced his memory after his death, giving out that he had died a Roman Catholic. Hearne was singular in his habits, and in his religious opinions; but the rumour of his being reconciled to the Church of Rome, in his dying moments, was destitute of any foundation whatever.^o

Walter Harte was another Nonjuring Clergyman of this period, of whom some notice may be given. He was Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, Prebendary of Wells, and Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton, all of which he lost for refusing the Oath of Allegiance at the Revolution. Kidder, Hooper, and Wynn, the successors of Ken, in the See of Bath and Wells, contrived to secure to him the profits of his Stall at Wells; so that he was not left quite destitute in his declining years. He retired to Kentbury, Berks, at which place he died in the year 1736, at the advanced age of 95. His son, Walter Harte, Canon of Windsor, was the well known author of the *Life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden*.^p

It may be mentioned that several laymen, though they were not called upon to take the Oaths, which, however, they would have refused, were Nonjurors in principle, and considered themselves as members of the body. Bowyer and Bettenham, two eminent printers, were Nonjurors: and by them many of the works of the party were published. In the year

^o Life of Hearne, 23, 26, 27, 28, 121—124.

^p Noble, iii. 147, 148.

1724, Negus published a list of the printing offices in London, distinguishing the printers into classes, according to their acknowledged or supposed opinions. Under the head of *Nonjurors* are reckoned Bowyer, Bettenham, and Dalton.^a

The views entertained by the Nonjurors, and expressed in their new *Communion Office*, respecting the Eucharist, were opposed by many of the Clergy, though some few concurred in opinion with the compilers of the New Service. Johnson of Cranbrook had expressed similar views, though he remained in the Church of England. But at length the doctrine of the Nonjurors on this subject was assailed, and by no less a person than Waterland. In the year 1738, Waterland, then Archdeacon of Middlesex, published a Charge to the Clergy, in which the notion of a sacrifice in the Eucharist was condemned.^r This led to a controversy, in which Brett and George Smith took a prominent part. Waterland's works are generally known; but those of the Nonjurors have been examined only by comparatively a small number of persons. Some account, therefore, of the writings of the Nonjurors on this subject will not be unacceptable.

Waterland was a man of genius and of great learning: and the Nonjurors were always ready to acknowledge his merits. He was moreover a man of candour; so that none of his opponents were in danger of being misrepresented. He opposed some of their views, but he did not, as was too frequently the case,

^a Nichols, i. 302, 303.

^r He also published a volume of considerable size, in which the same view was maintained: "A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist as laid down in Scripture and Antiquity. By Daniel Waterland, D.D." 8vo. London, 1737.

impute to them opinions which they repudiated. Thus the charge of Popery, which was founded on the Nonjurors' Views of the Christian Sacrifice, was shewn by this eminent and candid man to be most unjust. Smith, in his "*Epistolary Dissertation*," thus alludes to Waterland's conduct in this particular. "Our doctrine of the sacrifice was, in the dispute between the late Dr. Hickes and his opponents, formerly cried down as Popish. Of this imputation Dr. Waterland has been so just as to clear it, for which we cannot but return him our thanks; because it is evident it is entirely inconsistent with the Popish, and quite overthrows it: there being as much difference between it and the Romish, as between the substance of bread and wine, and the substance of our blessed Saviour's body and blood. And this the Papists are so sensible of, that they endeavour all they can to render our notion of a sacrifice contemptible." Smith, however, remarks that Waterland, though he had cleared their view from being Popish, charged it with being Jewish: and this point is discussed at considerable length.^a The question which had been so learnedly handled by Hickes, Johnson and Brett, was most ably maintained in this work: but the controversy is conducted in a meek and charitable spirit, altogether different from that of *The Remarks on The Life of Tillotson*, which have been noticed in a previous chapter.

In 1740, Smith published *An Account of the*

^a An Epistolary Dissertation addressed to the Clergy of Middlesex. Wherein the Doctrine of St. Austin concerning the Christian Sacrifice is set in a true light: by way of reply to Dr. Waterland's late charge to them. By a Divine of the University of Cambridge. London, 8vo. 1739, pp. 3, 4. The work is anonymous: but there is no reason to doubt that it was written by Mr. George Smith.

Primitive Invocation, which he called a *supplement* to Waterland's *Review of the Eucharist*. He does not exactly controvert Waterland's positions, but seems rather to view them as falling below the reality. This is implied in the title of his work. The author gives a most interesting historical sketch of the whole subject.^t Brett also took a part in the controversy, publishing "*Remarks on Waterland's Charge*," and "*A Supplement to the Remarks*." In the former, he contends, that the differences between Hickes and Johnson on the one side, and Waterland on the other, were rather verbal than real: in the latter, he defends Johnson's view of a material sacrifice in the Eucharist, which was opposed by Waterland.^u

It has been already mentioned, that the disputes among the Nonjurors, respecting the *Usages*, were terminated, the whole body, with very few exceptions, concurring in their adoption. The few, who refused to receive them, did not offer any active opposition, but contented themselves with adhering to the Book of Common Prayer. Probably some, who dissented from the majority, united with the

^t A Brief Historical Account of the Primitive Invocation, or Prayer for a Blessing upon the Elements, in Confirmation of some things mentioned in the learned Dr. Waterland's Review, &c., and by way of Supplement to it. In a Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. To which is added, a full Confutation of Beza's Arguments against the Primitive Doctrine of the Eucharist, &c. 8vo. 1740.

^u Some Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, with regard to the seeming Difference between his and Mr. Johnson's concerning the Sacrifice and some other Points. In defence of myself and some others, who maintained Mr. Johnson's Opinions in our late Answers to the Plain Account. 8vo. London, 1738.

National Church, as the best security against innovations.

In the year 1741, Robert Gordon was consecrated to the Episcopal office by Brett, George Smith, and Mawman. He was the last Bishop of the regular Nonjurors.

About the time, when the disputes respecting the *Usages* terminated, another breach sprang up among the Nonjurors. Mr. Perceval is of opinion, that it commenced, in the year 1733, in the consecration of Roger Lawrence, the learned author of *Lay-Baptism Invalid*.^w This line, however, was not recognized by the regular body, on the ground, that the first consecrations were uncanonical. Lawrence himself was consecrated by Campbell, the Scottish Bishop, who acted by his own authority : so that the act, being contrary to the Canons, was deemed invalid. Campbell and Lawrence, therefore, were now the leaders of a new section in the already diminished numbers of the Nonjurors. Subsequently, Campbell and Lawrence consecrated Thomas Deacon, who, on his part, and by himself, appointed to the Episcopal office J. P. Brown, whose real name is supposed to have been Johnstone, a brother of the Earl of Annandale.

The name of Lawrence is well known from his learned works on the *Invalidity of Lay Baptism* : but probably it is not so generally known, that he was a Nonjuror. His parents being Dissenters, Lawrence was baptized in the body to which they belonged. Entertaining doubts respecting the validity of the Act, he was led to an extended examination of the whole subject, which issued in the publication of his valu-

^w Perceval, 226.

able and learned work : *Lay Baptism Invalid*.^x The book was assailed by Dissenters, because the author had reduced their ministers to mere laymen, which was most distasteful to the body : it was also attacked by some members of the Church of England. He fully, as I conceive, establishes the position, that *Lay Baptism* is not recognized by the Anglican Church, whatever may be the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts respecting the right, which Dissenters have to the performance of the Burial Service, in the case of those who are baptized by their own ministers. Two Sermons were preached at Salisbury, by Burnet, in 1710, in which Lawrence's positions were assailed. This circumstance led him to publish, in reply, his work on the *Sacerdotal Powers*.^y A few years later there appeared another volume on *Dissenters' Baptisms*.^z

^x *Lay Baptism Invalid*. An Essay to prove that such Baptism is null and void, when administered in opposition to the divine right of the Apostolic succession. *Third Ed.* With an Appendix : wherein the boasted unanswerable objection of the B. of S. and other new objections are answered. By a Lay-hand. 8vo. London, 1712.

The Second Part of *Lay-Baptism Invalid* : Shewing, that the Ancient Catholick Church never had any Ecclesiastical Law, Tradition or Custom, for the Validity of Baptism performed by persons, who never were commissioned by Bishops to baptize. London, 1713.

^y *Sacerdotal Powers* : or the Necessity of Confession, Penance and Absolution, together with the Nullity of Unauthorized Lay-Baptism asserted in an Essay occasioned by the publication of Two Sermons, Preached at Salisbury the 5th, and 7th of November, 1710. By the Author of *Lay-Baptism Invalid*. 8vo. London, 1711.

^z *Dissenters and other unauthorized Baptisms null and void*, by the Articles, Canons and Rubrics of the Church of England, in Answer to a Pamphlet, called the Judgment of the Church of England, in the case of Lay-Baptism, and of Dissenters' Baptism. By the Author of *Lay-Baptism Invalid*. 8vo. London, 1713.

The Bishop of Oxford also having alluded to the subject, in his Charge, Lawrence sent forth a reply to his Lordship.^a These are, I believe, all the works of this learned writer, respecting whose talents there can be no difference of opinion, whatever may be the case concerning his views. On the question of *Lay Baptism*, most churchmen will agree with him in sentiment. It will be seen, that the above works were all written many years before his consecration as a Non-juring Bishop. Brett wrote a short Tract on the subject, defending Lawrence's views against the objections of Burnet.^b Little is known of Lawrence beyond what is to be gleaned from his works, and the replies which they called forth.^c

^a The Bishop of Oxford's Charge Considered, in reference to the Independency of the Church upon the State. A Proper Sacrifice in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The nature and necessity of Sacerdotal Absolution. And the Invalidity of Baptism administered by persons not Episcopally ordained. In an humble address to his Lordship. By the Author of Lay-Baptism Invalid. 8vo. 1712.

^b A Letter to the Author of Lay-Baptism Invalid: wherein the Popish Doctrine of Lay-Baptism, taught in a Sermon, said to have been preached by the B— of S— is censured and condemned by the Greek Church: the Church of England: The Reformed abroad: and even by our English Presbyterian Sectaries. Which may be added as an Appendix to a book entitled Sacerdotal Powers. 8vo. 1711.

^c The Author of the Wisdom of Looking Backward affects to treat Lawrence with contempt, though the name of the latter will be handed down to latest posterity, while that of the former is unknown. Thus, in alluding to his work on *Lay-Baptism*, he says: "by one Lawrence a Book-keeper in London, who being ashamed of his baptism among the Dissenters, was re-baptized by the Reader of Christchurch without knowledge of the Bishop or Vicar: and then would impose his own hasty practice for a standing rule and principle to others; wherein he was much encouraged and assisted by Dr. Hickes." p. 88. The same thing is repeated, p. 245, 246. So again, mentioning Lawrence's Remarks on the Bishop

Thus the Nonjurors were again divided into two sections, notwithstanding the closing of the breach which had been occasioned by the *Usages*. Brett was at the head of the regular body, Campbell and Lawrence being the leaders of the Separatists. These particulars must be borne in mind, in considering the proceedings connected with the Rebellion in 1745.

Brett, of whom many things are recorded in the preceding chapters, was one of the most learned as well as most active, of the body: but his labours were terminated by death in the year 1743. On a flat stone over his grave at Wye there are inscriptions to the memory of several of his ancestors, commencing with Gregory Brett, in 1541. Thomas Brett is thus mentioned. "Thomas Brett of Spring Grove, son of Thomas, born September 3rd, 1667: Doctor of Laws, 1697: became rector of Betshanger 1703: and of Ruckinge, 1705: resigned both in 1714, because he could not comply with the terms then im-

of Oxford's Charge, he adds, "By Mr. Lawrence bred to accounts in Spain," 265. Under the year 1713, the Author says: "the University of Oxford had lately given the Degree of M. A. to a man bred only to books of accounts, and living properly in the service of a London merchant, and a professed enemy to the Revolution, and the Hanover succession." He then gives the particulars; "One Mr. Wheatley (or some such name) a young preacher, about town falling into acquaintance with Mr. Lawrence, a disciple of Dr. Hickes, at *Child's Coffee House*, took a great affection for him, and having before heard him called in the University, the *Learned Layman*, he invited him down to Oxford with him, being himself fellow of St. John's, and prevailed with the Proctor in that House to propose the getting him an honorary degree of M. A. without education or exercise; which was effected by a surprise upon some and a cowardice in others." p. 284, 285. This *one Mr. Wheatley* was no less a person than the well known and learned author of the *Illustrations of the Book of Common Prayer*.

posed with a safe conscience: Died, March 5th, 1743." His refutation of the charge of Popery was noticed in a previous chapter; but it may be added, that, in *Ballard's Collection of Letters*, it was actually stated, that he had become a Papist, and had formed a separate congregation. The latter assertion was true: and it is contradictory of the former, since, had he become a Papist, he would not have formed a separate congregation, but would have united himself with the Church of Rome. The circumstance shews how ready many persons were in those days as well as in our own, to allege the charge of Popery against men of sound and orthodox principles.^d

Thomas Baker, the learned antiquary, died in the year 1740, in the 80th year of his age. Some notices of his labours have been given in a preceding chapter: but a few particulars may be added. He lost his living in 1690, for declining the Oath of Allegiance, on which occasion he retired to his fellowship in St. John's College Cambridge, which he held until the year 1716. Those who had taken the degree of B. D. were undisturbed in their fellowships, until the reign of George I., when the Oath of Abjuration was imposed. Jenkin, the Master of the College, was anxious to leave things as they were: but he was informed by those in authority, that the Oaths must be pressed. Baker's correspondence was very extensive: and even Burnet held him in much estimation. There is a Letter from Burnet, which really exhibits the Bishop in a more amiable light, than that in which he usually appeared, when discussing the Nonjuring questions. Alluding to "*The Hereditary Right of the Crown Asserted*," the Bishop, after stating that he

^d Nichols, i. 409—412.

had suspected that it was written by a member of St. John's College, since it was composed "with a great deal of gravity and decency," observes: "I never think the worse of men for their different sentiments in such matters: I am sure I am bound to think much the better of them: for adhering firmly to the dictates of their conscience, when it is so much to their loss, and when so sacred a thing as an Oath is in the case." He also expresses his regret that the Church should lose the services of such men as Baker. Burnet was indebted to Baker, for correcting some mistakes in his *First and Second Volumes of The History of the Reformation*.

Masters, the writer of his life, remarks, that Baker was much distressed at being removed from his fellowship, because some of his friends so readily concurred in the measure. Twenty-two Fellows were ejected at the same time. It was from this period, that the words *Socius Ejectus* were written on his books. He was, however, permitted to retain his rooms in the College until his death in the year 1740. His Biographer has given a catalogue of his *Manuscript Remains*, which are preserved in *forty-two* volumes of considerable size.*

Before the Rebellion in 1745, the Nonjurors, though consisting of two parties, were greatly diminished in number; but all, who were implicated in that affair, were considered to belong to their body. Some Nonjurors were undoubtedly concerned in the transactions of 1745; but they were members of the Separatists' Section, and not of the regular party, while the great majority of the actors were connected with neither.

* Memoirs by Masters, 32, 33, 34, 83, 93, 139. Nichols, iv. 249; v. 107—17. Gents. Mag. vol. liv. 194, 329.

It is unnecessary to enter into particulars respecting the Rebellion: but it may be observed, that severity was exercised towards all who were found guilty. Mr. Hallam says, "that it was disgraceful to the British Government."^f Mr. Ratcliffe, who had escaped from prison in 1716, after his condemnation, was now executed on the former conviction. After the lapse of thirty years, the sentence passed in 1716 was read over to him, and he was put to death in 1746.

Some undergraduates in Oxford were guilty, during the progress of the Rebellion, of certain acts of indiscretion, such as shouting *King James and Prince Charles for ever*; but this circumstance afforded no just indication of the state of feeling in the university. It was merely an ebullition of youthful ardour.^g

None of the regular body of the Nonjurors, however, were involved in the Rebellion. Whatever charges may be alleged against them on other grounds, it cannot be said, that they did not practise what they had taught on the subject of passive obedience. This fact, which could not be disputed even at the time, ought to have procured for them better treatment, than they sometimes experienced. Like the deprived Bishops, the Nonjurors of this period could not recognize the new order of things, by taking the Oaths; but at the same time they would not disturb the government by any attempt to restore the exiled line. They were prepared to submit to the privations, which such a course involved; and they with safety might have been permitted to enjoy their liberty, without annoyance on the part of the authorities.

^f Hallam, iii. 312, 454.

^g Blacow's Letter to King, 8vo. London, 1755.

These remarks, indeed, are not applicable to all the Nonjurors of the other section : for some of the members of that party, of which Campbell at one time, and then Deacon were the leaders, were implicated in the Rebellion, and suffered as traitors. Among the criminals was Thomas Deacon, a young man, the son of the Bishop, residing in Manchester. The Bishops and Clergy among the Nonjurors often followed some other occupation as a means of support. Deacon, the father of the young man, practised physic in the town of Manchester, where he was highly respected by a large circle of friends, who did not entertain the same principles. When the Pretender's army came to this place, young Deacon joined it immediately. It was proved, on his trial, moreover, that he had been very active in getting the Pretender's *manifesto* printed and circulated : so that, though a brother was spared, mercy could not be extended to this unfortunate youth, who was only twenty-two years of age. Dr. Deacon was singular in giving two or more names to his children, commencing with the same letter. Thus this young man was baptized by the names of Thomas Theodorus. At the place of execution, he said, "I profess I die a member, not of the Church of Rome, nor yet of that of England, but of a pure episcopal church, which has reformed all the errors, corruptions, and defects, that have been introduced into the modern churches of Christendom : a church which is in perfect communion with the ancient and universal Church of Christ, by adhering uniformly to antiquity, universality, and consent : that glorious principle, which if once strictly and impartially pursued, would, and which alone can, remove all the distractions and unite all the divided branches of the Christian Church. This holy Catholic principle is agreed to by all

churches, Eastern and Western, Popish and Protestant; and yet unhappily is practised by none, but the Church in whose holy communion I have the happiness to die. May God of his great mercy daily increase the members thereof: and if any would inquire into its primitive institution, I refer them to our Common Prayer Book."

Sydall, another of the sufferers, made an exactly similar declaration with Deacon.^h

It was rumoured that the speeches were written by Mr. Creak, a clergyman of that section of the Nonjurors. The Book of Common Prayer, to which they referred, was compiled by Deacon, the father of one of the sufferers. It is a singular volume, with a somewhat remarkable title.ⁱ After the separation of Deacon and Campbell from the regular body, this Book

^h State Trials, ix. 565, 566.

ⁱ A compleat Collection of Devotions, both public and private: taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, the Ancient Liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. In Two Parts. Part I. comprehending the Public Offices of the Church; humbly offered to the consideration of the present Churches of Christendom, Greek, Roman, English, and all others. Part II. Being a Primitive Method of Daily Private Prayer, containing Devotions for the Morning and Evening, and for the ancient hours of Prayer, Nine, Twelve, and Three; together with Hymns and Thanksgivings for the Lord's Day and Sabbath, and Prayers for Fasting Days: as also Devotions for the Altar, and Graces before and after Meat, all taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, and the ancient Liturgies, with some Additions: and recommended to the Practice of all Private Christians of every Communion. To which is added, an Appendix in justification of this undertaking, consisting of Extracts and Observations, taken from the Writings of very eminent and learned Divines of different Communions. And to all is subjoined, in a Supplement, an Essay to procure Catholic Communion upon Catholic principles. London, printed for the Author, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1734. Price bound in calf, six shillings.

of Devotions was used by this party in their assemblies for public worship, while the rest retained the new Communion Office, which was compiled by the *Usagers* in 1718. Deacon's book, therefore, must not be regarded as having been sanctioned by the Nonjurors as a body, since it was adopted only by that small section, of which the author was the leader.

Besides the works published by Deacon, at an early period of his life, which have been already noticed, he put forth another very singular volume in the year 1747. This, like the preceding, has a most extraordinary title. In this volume all the peculiar practices comprehended under the general term *Usages*, as it was used by the Nonjurors, are defended and enjoined, besides others, such as Infant Communion, which were never received by the regular body.^k Deacon, as we have seen, was consecrated by a single Bishop; and he himself, by his sole authority, consecrated others. In the work just mentioned he has a chapter, "*Of the Election, Ordination, and Consecra-*

^k A full, true, and comprehensive View of Christianity: containing a short Historical Account of Religion from the Creation of the World to the fourth Century after our Lord Jesus Christ: as also the complete Duty of a Christian in relation to Faith, Practice, Worship, and Ritualls, set forth sincerely, without regard to any modern Church, Sect, or Party, as it is taught in the Holy Scriptures, was delivered by the Apostles, and received by the universal Church of Christ during the first four Centuries. The whole succinctly laid down in Two Catechisms, a shorter and a longer, each divided into two Parts; whereof the one comprehends the Sacred History, the other the Christian Doctrine. The shorter Catechism being suited to the meanest capacity, and calculated for the use of Children; and the longer for that of the more knowing Christian. To it is prefixed a Discourse upon the Design of these Catechisms, and upon the best Method of instructing Youth in them. 8vo. London, 1747.

tion of the Clergy," in which we find a reason for acting, in the ordering of Bishops, by his own authority. "Bishops are consecrated by the Metropolitan and as many of the Bishops of the province as can conveniently come together; but they must not proceed to a consecration, unless the majority of them either are present, or have signified their consent: nor unless three Bishops are actually present, except in the case of persecution or some such other very necessary occasion, when one Bishop is sufficient to make the consecration valid."¹ He evidently considered, that the plea of necessity might be urged, or that they were under persecution. That he was justified, in so acting, even on his own principle, cannot be admitted, since the regular Nonjurors had a sufficient number of Bishops. The work displays much learning, though some of the author's opinions are very singular.

The charge of Popery was brought, by Owen a Dissenter, against Deacon, of whom he speaks in no measured terms. Some of the Nonjurors at Manchester were accused of paying religious adoration to the heads of the rebels, which had been suspended, in that town, according to the sentence. The charge was advanced first in *The Whitehall Evening Post*, in an anonymous letter, which was afterwards acknowledged to be Owen's. "The two rebel heads are revered and almost adored, as trophies of martyrdom. The father of one of them (who is a Nonjuring Bishop) as he passes by 'em, frequently pulls off his hat, and looks at them above a minute with a solemn complacential smile. Some suppose he offers up a prayer for them, others to them. His church daily

¹ A full, true, and comprehensive View, &c. i. 430.

increases, and he is in the highest credit and intimacy with most of our clergy." The letter, accompanied with remarks by a person at Manchester, was also published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. In the remarks the charges are denied, except that Dr. Deacon had once only passed by his son's head, on which occasion he had taken off his hat. The same writer very naturally asks what connexion there is between the Doctor's peculiar views and politics, specifying Infant Communion, and the restoration of the *Usages*: and, in allusion to the assertion of his intimacy with the Clergy, he admits, that the Doctor was esteemed and valued by that body. He closes his remarks with an expression of opinion, that it was less dangerous to associate with a *Nonjuring Bishop*, than with a Dissenter.^m

Owen commented on the remarks in a letter addressed to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, affirming or rather insinuating his previous charges, and adding another, that Deacon had absolved Paul and Hall after the Rebellion in 1716.ⁿ This produced a second letter from the remarker, from which I give the following extract, containing a severe but just censure of the Dissenters of that day for the avidity with which they raised the cry of Popery. The remarker had charged a *certain set* of people with making use of a *canting evasion*: and Owen calls upon him to name them. He replies as follows: "I mean that tribe of sectaries who have for more than a century past shewn the utmost enmity and hatred to the Church of England, exemplified their hatred once by a total subversion of episcopal government, and again

^m Gents. Mag. vol. xvi. p. 579, 580.

ⁿ Ibid. vol. xvi. pp. 688, 691.

by an interested, servile compliance with a Popish Prince in his Popish designs, merely to raise themselves to some degree of power, which had been wisely denied them before. These are the men, who have always used the cry of *Popishly affected* to run down the steadiest friends of our ecclesiastical establishment.”^o

Owen now published a second edition of a work, in which he examines some of the positions of Deacon’s “View of Christianity.”^p In the *Preface* he acknowledges himself the author of the letter in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*. As Owen, therefore, had confessed himself the author of the calumnies, Deacon deemed it necessary to reply to them in a letter to the same Magazine. In reference to Paul and Hall, Deacon states, that they were attended, not by himself but by the Rev. Francis Peck, and that neither he nor any other person absolved the prisoners. To the charge of having a *dispensation* Deacon says: “This is a charge of such a kind that I can only answer it by sincerely affirming that I neither had any such dispensation, nor made any such declaration.” In short, all the assertions were proved to be groundless, the fruits of Owen’s malice and hatred.^q

Having given a detail of the proceedings of the Separatists among the Nonjurors, until the suppression of the Rebellion, it will be necessary to look back a little, to gather up the materials respecting the main

^o Gents. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 76.

^p Jacobite and Nonjuring Principles freely examined: In a Letter to the Master Tool of the Faction at Manchester, with Remarks on some part of a book lately published, entitled *A Full, Free, and Comprehensive View*, &c. wrote by Dr. Deacon. By J. Owen, Manchester, 1748.

^q Gents. Mag. vol. xviii. p. 206.

body, none of whom, as I have stated, were implicated in that transaction.

Of Blackburn an account has already been given: but the following particulars from the MSS. of the Rev. Richard Bowes, D.D. respecting his death are too important to be passed over. "Nov. 17th, 1741, departed this life the Rev. Mr. John Blackbourne, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. Soon after the Revolution he became one of those few truly conscientious who refused the new Oaths. From that time he lived a very exemplary good life, and studied hard: endeavouring to be useful to mankind both as a scholar and divine. To keep himself independent he became corrector of the press to Mr. Bowyer, printer: and was, indeed, one of the most accurate of any who ever took upon him that laborious employ. He has given us a curious edition of Lord Bacon's Works, 1740. As I had the happiness of being long known to my most valuable friend, he was so kind to communicate the following particulars. That *Opprobrium Historiæ*, Burnet's Memoirs, were first put into his hands to be corrected for Bowyer's press. But the honest sons of the Bishop made shamefully free with their father's manuscript. Mr. Blackburn shewed some pages left out, relating to the Prince of Orange, where his character was more at large and better drawn, more to truth and life. Several sheets concerning the Scots especially left out. As he was too honest to deal with such as have no honesty, he advised Mr. Bowyer to be concerned no further in the impression: so it was taken out of his hands. This good man for several years past has been a Non-juring Bishop equal to most of our bench. I waited on him often in Little Britain, where he lived almost lost to the world, and hid amongst old books. One

day, before dinner, he went to his bureau and took out a paper. It was a copy of the testimonial sent to King James (as he called him), signed by his Lordship (Winchelsea) and two others (I think) in his behalf. He afterwards shewed me the commission for his consecration. Upon this I begged his blessing, which he gave me with the fervent zeal and devotion of a primitive Bishop. I asked him if I was so happy as to belong to his diocese? His answer was (I thought) very remarkable: Dear friend, (said he) we leave the sees open, that the gentlemen who now unjustly possess them, upon the restoration, may, if they please, return to their duty, and be continued. We content ourselves with full episcopal power as suffragans.”^r

Blackburn, as has been seen, stood out from the

^r Nichols, i. 252, 253. Blackbourne was buried in Islington Churchyard, and Nichols mentions, “ when a schoolboy, I have often gazed with astonishment at the following epitaph, the meaning of which I was then unable to comprehend :

Hic situm est quod mortale fuit
 Viri vere reverendi
 Johannis Blackbourne A. M.
 Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyteri,
 Pontificorum æque ac Novatorum Mallei,
 Docti, clari, strenui, prompti:
 Qui (uti verbo Dicam) cætera enim quis nescit ?
 Cum eo non dignus erat,
 Usque adeo degener, mundus,
 Ad Beatorum Sedes
 Translatus est, 17^o die Novembris
 A. D. MDCCXLI. ætat. suæ LVIII.

On the foot stone :

Christo qui vivit, morte perire nequit.
 Resurgam. J. B.
 Nunc, amice Lector, quisquis sis,
 Ex hinc disce, qui es, et quid eris.”

rest of the body in 1733 on the ground of the *usages*: nor is there any reason for believing that he adopted them previous to his death. He was, therefore, the last of the Nonjurors, who adhered to the Church of England as she stood at the period of the separation. By all the rest, subsequent to 1733, the *usages* were adopted, however they might differ on other subjects. Thus Deacon and his friends, who formed a new separation, adhered to the *usages*, making also some additions themselves.

After the death of Brett, Lindsay acted a very prominent part amongst the regular body. He was the author of several publications of considerable power. Patrick Cockburn, who had once been Curate of St. Dunstan's, and then a Nonjuror, after having officiated for a season at Aberdeen, returned to the National Church, on which occasion he deemed it necessary to publish a defence of his conduct. Lindsay published a reply to this gentleman, in which he enters on the question of the prayers for the reigning Sovereign, contending that they could not be lawfully used.*

Just after the Rebellion, a volume of Letters was published by the Nonjurors, from which we may infer, that, though they were diminished in numbers, their opposition to the Established Church was become, if possible, stronger, than at any previous period. The charges of *heresy*, *schism*, and *immoral worship* are alleged against the complying Clergy, and alleged with considerable acrimony. Whether Lindsay were the author, I cannot determine. Perhaps several of the party were concerned in the pro-

* An Expostulatory Letter to the Rev. Mr. Patrick Cockburn. 8vo. London, 1740.

duction. The writer says, addressing his friend, "I hope, in a clear and concise manner, to convince you of the justice of the charge exhibited against you, and consequently to prevail on you to separate yourself from those followers of Corah, lest partaking of their guilt, you become also partaker in their punishment."† A sketch of the characters of Sancroft and Tillotson, as the heads of the two bodies into which the Church was divided at the Revolution, is given in the Preface. Sancroft's picture is justly and accurately drawn: but Tillotson's is much distorted. The *first* letter is dated 1741, and contains a charge of schism against the complying Clergy. In the *second*, written in 1742, the question raised by Dodwell, respecting the healing of the breach on the death of Lloyd, is discussed: and the party, to whom it is addressed, is referred to Gandy's *Dialogue between Gerontius and Junius*, and to Hickes's *Constitution of the Catholic Church*. Prayers for governors, without reference to the question of right, are condemned as sinful. In a *third* letter, dated *Ash Wednesday* 1743-4, it is asserted, that no *schismatic* can enter heaven: that, therefore, it behoves all persons to consider their position: and that the schism was with those, who removed Sancroft and his brethren. "I shall not think it necessary," says the writer, "to dispute the authority of that Convention, who metamorphosed a Dutch P— into an English K—, and placed him in the throne of their natural sovereign liege Lord, still living and claiming his right to the same; nor the authority of this Convention-made K—, who (as one good turn deserves another) moulded them into a

† A Collection of Letters concerning the Separation of the Church of England into two Communions. 1746. P. 4.

P—." The *fourth* letter continues the subject, and is dated, *Feast of St. Michael 1745*.

George Smith, of whom many particulars have been given, ended his labours in the year 1756, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Oswald, in the city of Durham. Besides the edition of Bede, which had been left unfinished by his father, he published many other works, some of which, especially such as bear on the history of the Nonjurors, have been specified in this volume. His talents were of a high order, as his various productions, and particularly his controversy with Waterland, testify.^u

A considerable number of works, on the controversy between the Nonjurors and members of the Church of England, was published by Lindsay.^w In a work on *Parochial Communion*, the fact of two communions, a public and a private, in the Church of England, is stated, in Bennet's words, from his *Nonjurors' Separation*: and the question is put, "which of these two is the true Church of England?" The old arguments are then repeated.^x Three years later, the subject is continued in another work, in which a Vicar of a parish is introduced as one of the interlocutors. In consequence of certain allusions, on the part of the Neighbour, the Vicar brings forward the question of the prayers for the existing Sovereign. At this time the feeling of the body

^u Nichols, i. 170, 705.

^w They were generally put forth anonymously: but the pieces to which I refer are ascribed to him by the Nonjuror, some of whose books are in my possession.

^x The Grand and Important Question about the Church and Parochial Communion fairly and friendly Debated in a Dialogue between a worthy Country Gentleman and his Neighbour newly returned from London. London, 8vo. 1756.

towards the family of Hanover had, in no degree, abated. "All other parts of the Liturgy," says the Vicar, "remain nevertheless pure and unexceptionable, as they were before, without any alteration." The Neighbour replies, "so they are supposed to be, but that is another consideration:" to which the Vicar answers, upon that supposition, however, many pious and devout people do still think themselves bound to keep to their Church, and frequent her prayers: though possibly some of them may have been unhappily possessed, as you are, with scruples and objections to some of the petitions." The Neighbour asks, whether any dissent is expressed against the objectionable portions? The Vicar replies in the negative: and the other speaker concludes, that "they must be presumed to join in the whole office; and so to render it their *Common Prayer*." He adds, that, as he cannot join in the whole service, he abstains from Church altogether. Dodwell's example is urged by one party: but by the other, his later works are regarded as inconsistent with his former; while the principles on which he acted, in returning to the Church of England, are condemned as unsound.'

Lindsay was a man of very considerable powers. Whatever subject he touched was handled in a masterly manner. Some of his productions are on subjects of general interest: and one intitled "*The Happy Interview*" is rather of an amusing description, the object being to ridicule the alteration of the

† The Grand and Important Question about the Church and Parochial Communion further Debated, in a fair and friendly Conference between a Country Gentleman and his Neighbour, together with the Reverend Vicar of the Parish also. 8vo. London, 1759.

Style in 1753. *Truth* and *Common Sense* meet in St. Paul's on the 2nd of September, the day set apart as a fast to call to remembrance the Fire of London in 1666.² " 'Tis strange," says *Truth*, " that *Common Sense* should not reflect upon the notorious absurdity of addressing our prayers in solemn commemoration of an event, as happening on this day: whereas the *proper anniversary* appointed by authority is yet to come eleven days hence, and will then be passed over here without any notice." *Truth* further argues, " how absurd it is, to celebrate *this* and the *other three* anniversaries of the *Martyrdom*, the *Restoration*, and the *Gunpowder Treason* (which are all four solemnities peculiar to this nation) on the nominal days instead of the real ones." *Common Sense* is at last convinced, that the people are deceived by *Almanacks* and *Calenders*.³

² A special service was appointed for the 2nd of September, which was for some time, after the fire in 1666, used generally in the churches. At the present time, however, it is only read in two churches—St. Paul's Cathedral and the Church of Alder-Mary. In some of the *Books of Common Prayer* of the reigns of Charles II and James II, the *Form of Prayer* was printed with the other annual Services of the same character: but as it is not found in all the copies, it is not very generally known in the present day. During the last century, the *Form* was printed in a separate state, on the ground, as it was even then alleged, that copies of the Prayer Book containing this particular Service were uncommon.

³ The Happy Interview: or Long-looked-for found out at last. A plain Narrative; giving an Account how Common Sense, having withdrawn himself, in disgust, from the Public View, was, after the indefatigable search and enquiries of his Friend, Plain Honesty, found out, in his Retirement, under the Directions of Truth. London, 1756. The following passage is curious. " It was but a week ago last Tuesday, that I was here, to join with the congregation in the service of the Church appointed for the Fes-

The author was also an able antagonist of Romanism. Like his brethren, though exposed to the charge of Popery, he was a more effective opponent of the errors of Rome, than the persons by whom his character was assailed. His *Seasonable Antidote* was published, in consequence of the apostacy of one of his congregation to the Church of Rome. The following extract may be taken as a specimen of the manner of his handling the controversy, and also as an evidence of the soundness of his own principles. "The decision of the Church (I mean the Catholic Church of Christ, properly so called) is expressly contrary to that of modern Rome, in all the points in controversy with the Church of England: as I am able and ready to prove to the conviction of all, whose eyes are not blinded with prejudices against the truth. Let me ask you, in the name of God, can you so firmly believe, as to admit of no longer doubt, that in the sacrament of the Eucharist,

tival of St. Bartholomew, being the 24th of August: and that indeed might, according to the variation of the *Style*, be the proper day, for aught I know: considering how *many ages* have passed since those *Saints' Days* were at first instituted. But sure I am, this, though it may be now reckoned the *second* of *September* by the *New Style*, cannot possibly be the *proper anniversary* of the *Fire of London*: for since that dreadful calamity there are still remaining *eleven* days to complete the *ninetieth* year: so that our solemn addresses to God, for pardon, cannot, with any due regard to *religion* or *propriety*, be offered up as an *annual* commemoration before the 13th. But what makes the *absurdity* still more glaring and ridiculous is, that to-morrow we are to see the magistrates of this great city, who have been here this day, marching to *Smithfield* in the like *formality*, there to proclaim the *Fair*! Thus it is wisely contrived, by the reformers and correctors of our *Style*, that the 2nd of September comes now as of course, the day before the 23rd of August, and the Feast of St. Bartholomew ten days before the eve of it." Pp. 8, 9, 10, 11.

there is truly, really, and substantially contained whole Christ, God man, body and blood, bones, nerves, soul and divinity, under the species and appearance (only) of bread and wine? That the same body which was born of the Virgin, and is now in heaven? That upon consecration, there is a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of Christ's body? Can you believe, and no longer doubt, that divine worship is due, or can be paid, without danger of idolatry to the consecrated Host?"

The man who penned this passage was quite as far from Rome as his accusers: and the remark will apply to the Nonjurors generally.^b Lindsay, it appears, officiated to the Nonjuring congregation, at Trinity Chapel, Aldersgate Street, being probably their last minister. For some years he acted as corrector of the Press to Bowyer, a task for which he was eminently qualified. He died at the advanced age of 82, and was buried in Islington churchyard, in the year 1768. The inscription upon his grave existed in 1808: and probably it exists still. In one of the extracts from his letters preserved by Nichols, he settles the authorship of some of the works, which were written at an early period of the separation. "*The Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession*," says he to Zachary Gray, ("as well as a Defence of it") were Mr. T. Browne's, formerly

^b A Seasonable Antidote against Apostacy. Containing, I. Some plain Propositions, recommended to the serious consideration of all those who may be under any Temptation to forsake the Church of England, and revolt to that of Rome. II. A Paper, pretended to be an Answer to the foregoing Propositions. And, III. Remarks, at large, upon the said pretended Answer, by the Author of the Propositions. With a Preface shewing the special reasons and occasion of making the same public. London 1758.

of your College, St. John's, B.D. *The Answer to Obedience and Submission* (as well as to Sherlock's Vindication on the same subject) were written by Mr. Wagstaffe. *The Examination of the Arguments from Scripture and Reason*, by Mr. Theophilus Downes. *Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance considered*, by Mr. Jeremiah Collier." In the year 1747 he writes, "as I gladly embrace all opportunities of paying my respects to you, the inclosed letter from my brother, (sent by one of his sons lately come to London) presents me this occasion to acquaint you, that I removed last Christmas, from the Temple, and took a lodging in Pear-Tree Street, near St. Luke's, Old Street, where I spend my time chiefly among books, or in my garden. That I am still a dealer in the former you may perceive by these proposals. You know I published the greater part of Mason's works several years ago; but had not then the whole. Now having luckily procured the last sermons, which I had been so long in quest of, I have printed them in the same paper and letter with the rest, which makes the collection complete. There are a good many copies of the former still on my hands, which I hope may go off now. Those who have the rest already may have these sermons by themselves. I presume, Sir, upon the favour of your interest to promote this method of distributing them." On publishing Mason's "Vindication" he resided at Islington, the preface being dated from that place: but it appears that he moved frequently from place to place.^c

^c Nichols, i. 374, 376. Lindsay was the author of a work in defence of Charles I. against the Monthly Reviewers, who had assailed the memory of that unfortunate monarch. Charles's character was ably and successfully defended by our Author.

William Law was contemporary with Lindsay. He was born in 1686, at Kingscliffe, in Northamptonshire. So that when the schism originated, he was only an infant. His father was a grocer in that village : but whether he had adopted the principles of the Nonjurors, I am unable to determine. William was sent to Cambridge, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1708, and that of M.A. in 1712. At this time, therefore, he could not have been a Nonjuror : but after the accession of George I. when the Abjuration Oath was rigorously enforced, he refused to submit, and consequently lost his fellowship. Still, as a man of peace, he remained in the communion of the Church, attending divine service in his own parish. His writings are rather voluminous : and some of his practical works, especially his *Serious Call*, and his *Christian Perfection*, are still most extensively circulated. He took a prominent part in the *Ban-gorian Controversy*, defending the Church and the Priesthood against Hoadley, with much ability and force of argument. He died in the year 1761.^d

Lindsay and Law were among the last generation of the Nonjurors : and Carte may be reckoned in the same class. During his life the labours of Carte were not duly appreciated, though they are now ranked among the most valuable of our historical writings. The author graduated at Oxford, taking his B.A. in 1702, and M.A. at Cambridge in 1706. On these occasions he must have taken the Oath of Allegiance : but on the accession of George I. he refused to take the Oath of Abjuration. At this time Collier was accustomed to preach to a Nonjuring congregation in an upper room of a house in Broad

^d Gents. Mag. vol. lxx. pp. 720, 1038—40.

Street: and Carte appears on some occasions to have assisted him in his labours. On the Sunday he also performed divine service in his own family. In 1715, he was obliged to conceal himself, from an active search of the king's troops, in the house of Mr. Badger, the Curate of Coleshill. In the year 1722, a charge of Treason was alleged against him, a reward of £1000 being offered for his apprehension. To avoid a prosecution he escaped to France, where he resided under the assumed name of Philips, spending his time in laborious study, various public and private libraries being opened to his researches. His great works, *The Life of the Duke of Ormond*, and the *History of England*, are now much better known and much more valued than they were at the time of, and many years subsequent to, their publication. Queen Caroline obtained permission for him to return to England, sometime between the year 1728 and 1730. Falling under suspicion in 1744, he was taken into custody: but his liberation was soon accomplished. The Duke of Newcastle asked him, during the examination to which he was subjected, whether he were not a Bishop? "No, My Lord," he replied, "there are no Bishops in England but what are made by your Grace; and I am sure I have no reason to expect that honour." The first volume of his *History of England* was finished in 1747: and its credit was very materially damaged by a note respecting *The King's Evil*. An account is given of an individual, who went over to the Pretender in 1716, to be touched for the disease, according to the custom in such cases, and who, as was alleged, was cured of the malady under which he laboured. The author was sharply attacked on account of this note. In his reply he states, that having occasion to speak

of the *royal unction*, he was led to notice the extraordinary effects ascribed to it by certain writers: and that the obnoxious note was inserted in order to shew, that the supposed sanative virtue in the royal touch, was erroneously ascribed to the anointing. In consequence of this note, the *History* did not then meet with that approval which it so well merited. The Author died in the year 1754, at Caldecot House, near Abingdon, Berks.^e

Among the last race of the Nonjurors there were many quiet and peaceable men, whose names are now forgotten. Of this character was the Rev. William Andrews, a native of Croscombe, in the county of Somerset. He was one of those conscientious men, who, though he had taken the Oath of Allegiance, could not take the Oath of Abjuration. When, therefore, the latter Oath was imposed, after the accession of the House of Hanover, being then in Deacon's orders, he on principle declined to proceed to the order of Priesthood, as well as to the degree of M.A. and subsequently, when preferment was offered him, he refused to accept it on the same ground. In the year 1744, having devoted himself, like so many of the Nonjurors, to the pursuit of literature, he published in two volumes a translation of *Pascall's Provincial Letters*; but so great was his modesty, that his initials only, W. A. are appended to the Preface. He resided, during many years, at Wedmore, in the county of Somerset, where he fitted up a study over the Church Porch, in which his books

^e Nichols, ii. 471—506. It is to be regretted, that the government deemed it necessary to press the Abjuration Oath, since in all probability Law and Carte and others would not have been Nonjurors, but for that measure: while many who had stood out would probably have complied.

were deposited. He died in the year 1759 at Bath, and was buried in the Abbey Church in that city.^f

James II. lost his crown from his attachment to Rome : and it is said, that his grandson in 1745 was ready to renounce Romanism, in order to regain what had been lost by his grandfather. Lord Kilmarnock denied that the object contemplated by the restoration of the exiled family was the restoration of Popery. He added that Charles Edward had no concern about any outward profession of religion.

King believed, that he would have conformed to the Church of England, on the ground of indifference to either Creed. “As to his religion, he is certainly free from all bigotry and superstition, and would readily conform to the religion of the country. With the Catholics, he is a Catholic : with the Protestants, he is a Protestant : and to convince the latter of his sincerity, he often carried an English Common Prayer Book in his pocket, and sent to Gordon, a Nonjuring

^f A Tablet, containing an inscription, still remains on the Wall of the room over the Porch of Wedmore Church. It was erected, on his leaving that village for the last time, previous to his taking up his residence in Bath. The copy of the Inscription has been sent to me by one of his collateral descendants, and is as follows :

In Memoriam
Johannis et Gulielmi
Andrews,
Quorum Prior,
Obiit et sepultus est Bristol :
MDCC, XLVIII.
Alter adhuc est superstes,
Minime Pendens,
Ubicunque moriturus,
Ubicunque sepeliendus.
Soli Deo
Gloria !

clergyman, to christen the first child he had by Mrs. W."^g This is remarkable, inasmuch as he would not have been in exile, if King James had adhered to the Anglican Church. The Nonjurors also, from the commencement of the Revolution, were convinced, that Popery was the cause of the King's troubles. Accordingly we find them using means to procure at least a promise of support for the Church of England, in the event of his Restoration: and King James assures us, that it was proposed to four Roman Catholic English divines, in 1693, whether he might lawfully promise to support the Church of England. They replied that he could not promise to defend a religion, which he deemed to be erroneous; but that he might promise to protect the members of the Church of England, as by law established, in the free and full exercise of their religion.^h Mr. Hallam admits, that Popery alone kept the Pretender from the throne. "It is almost certain, that, if either the claimant or his son had embraced the Protestant religion, and had also manifested any superior strength of mind, the German prejudices of the reigning family would have cost them the throne, as they did the people's affections."ⁱ

The First Pretender, the son of James II. who was born in 1688, died in 1765, after which Charles Edward, the Second Pretender, assumed the style and title of King of England. Charles Edward was born in 1720, so that he was twenty-five years of age when he entered Scotland in 1745. It is said that

^g King's Political and Literary Anecdotes of his own Time, pp. 191, 192, 193.

^h Life of James II. from the Stuart MSS. ii, 508, 9.

ⁱ Hallam, iii. 342.

he visited England on two subsequent occasions. Thus David Hume asserts, in a letter written in 1773, that he was certainly in London in 1753. Hume had the information from Lord Marechal, who had received the particulars from the lady, at whose house the Pretender took up his abode. According to this account, he arrived when the lady had a large party. He walked once through St. James's Park, and also in the Mall. Hume told the story to Lord Holderness, many years after, who was Secretary of State at the time, and who acknowledged that such was the case, and that he had first obtained his information from the King himself. It is further stated, on the authority of Lord Marechal, that he was actually present at the coronation of George III. Hume adds, that some of the Jacobites assured him, that Charles Edward formally renounced Romanism in 1753, at the New Church in the Strand, and that on this account he was ill treated by the Court of Rome.^k

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* corrected some portions of Hume's statement. He says, that the Pretender renounced Popery, at the Chapel in Gray's Inn Lane, and not at the Chapel in the Strand; and that he was accustomed to read the Service of the Church of England to his household, when no Clergyman was present.^l

Various opinions have been expressed respecting Charles Edward's religious views. By some persons he has been represented as a bigot to the Church of Rome: by others, as a Protestant: but probably King's statement, that he was indifferent to all creeds,

^k Gents. Mag. vol. lviii. pp. 393, 359, 642. Chambers's Rebellion, i. 284.

^l Ibid. 509.

is nearest the truth. It is said that, on one occasion, while witnessing a procession at Rome, he exclaimed to a Roman Catholic Peer, "Oh that our family should deprive themselves of three kingdoms for such nonsense."^m He died at Rome in 1788, and was buried, with great pomp and splendour, in the Church of Frescati, of which his brother Henry, the Cardinal of York, was Bishop.ⁿ

At the period of Charles Edward's death, few Nonjurors survived. For several years, notwithstanding the efforts of some active individuals, they had been gradually diminishing in numbers. Gordon, the last Bishop of the regular body, died in 1779: so that the Nonjurors became extinct, as a regularly constituted Church, with its Bishops, Priests and Deacons, at that time: but the Separatists continued some years longer, and individual Clergymen of the other body survived, until a comparatively recent period. Of Gordon an unfavourable, and probably not a true picture, is drawn by King. "It never entered my thoughts," says he, "that a Nonjuring Clergyman, who values himself much upon the sanctity of his manners, and with whom I had once lived in some degree of friendship, should conspire with two or three villanous attorneys to traduce me by a public advertisement. I don't know whether he would be a martyr, but no man is a greater enthusiast in religion than he is in the Jacobite cause. Hereditary right and passive obedience are the chief articles of his creed. And this is the doctrine which

^m Gents. Mag. vol. lix. 5.

ⁿ Ibid. vol. lviii. 179, 180. Some curious particulars are recorded in this volume respecting the Pretender's family, and also respecting his funeral.

he teaches in his little congregation, over which he presides as a pastor: where, while he boasts of the purity of his religion, and a steady adherence to his political system, he departs from every principle of humanity, and devotes his country to ruin." It is added in a note, "There is indeed a latent cause of this man's enmity to me, besides the reason which he hath given the public for his resentment. I have lately been unfortunately engaged in a lawsuit with one James Bettenham, a printer, a sanctified member of Gordon's congregation, but one of the greatest knaves I have ever known. This man, who had great obligations to me, and taken a great deal of my money, endeavoured, in settling a final account, to cheat me of £100. In this attempt he was assisted and justified by his father confessor."^o There is, however, no reason for supposing that King's impressions were correct, respecting either Gordon or Bettenham. Differences had arisen, and he gives vent to his anger in this severe attack.

The Nonjurors of the Separation, which commenced in 1733 or 1734, continued their succession of Bishops several years after Gordon's death. The breach, which had been occasioned by the *Usages*, was, as has been shewn, closed in 1733, with the exception of Bishop Blackburn and a few of his Presbyters, who made no attempt to continue the succession apart from the general body. But no sooner had they become a united party, by the healing of this breach, than another separation occurred, on totally different grounds. The Separatists proceeded to consecrate Bishops of their own, apart from the regular body. But as the schism was headed only by one Bishop,

^o King's Anecdotes, 201.

he actually consecrated others, by his own authority, contrary to the canons of the Church : consequently these consecrations were not recognized by the legitimate Nonjurors ; nor could they have been allowed by the deprived Bishops, supposing the schism to have occurred at an earlier period. The particulars of this separation were given in a previous chapter. In the year 1780, Price and Cartwright were consecrated by Deacon alone, Garnet was consecrated by Cartwright in 1795, and Boothe at a later period by Garnet. Boothe's was the last consecration. As they refused to take the Oaths, they were Nonjurors ; but in many important particulars, as will be shewn in the concluding chapter, they were as much at issue with the regular body as with the National Church.

Cartwright resided at Shrewsbury, practising as a surgeon, and died in the year 1799. Before his death, he had become, says Mr. Hallam, "A very loyal subject to King George : a singular proof of that tenacity of life by which religious sects, after dwindling down through neglect, excel frogs and tortoises : and that even when they have become almost equally cold-blooded." On his deathbed, he declared his conformity to the National Church, in the presence of the Curate of the Parish. Mr. Hallam adds, "I have heard of similar congregations in the West of England still later."^p I have been informed by a gentleman residing in the West of England, that a Nonjuring Clergyman was living so late as the year 1815. Boothe, the last of the irregular Nonjuring Bishops, died in Ireland in the year 1805.

Before the death of Gordon and Cartwright, the last Bishops of their respective lines in England, the

^p Hallam, iii. 341.

Nonjurors were divided in practice as well as in opinion. Some objected altogether to the worship of the National Church, on the ground of what were termed *immoral prayers*: others, like William Law, though they could not take the Oaths, were content to communicate with the Church of England as private individuals. There were others, who, though they attended their parish Churches, probably because they were not sufficiently numerous to form a separate congregation with a Clergyman of their own, took with them a prayer-book printed before the Revolution, in order that they might not join in the prayer for the reigning Sovereign. This probably was not an uncommon practice. A gentleman in the West of England, a district in which many Nonjurors resided, and in which they lingered longer than in any other part of the country, informs me that this practice was adopted by several of his ancestors.





CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1688—1792.

SCOTTISH BISHOPS IN 1688.—BISHOP ROSE AND KING WILLIAM.
—CAUSES OF THE ABOLITION OF EPISCOPACY.—THE CONVENTION.—OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.—SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY FROM THE RABBLE: FROM THE PRESBYTERIANS.—THE ASSURANCE.—STATE OF THE EPISCOPAL CLERGY WHO COMPLIED.—CONDUCT OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.—QUEEN ANNE'S ACCESSION.—CONDITION OF THE CLERGY BETTERED.—ATTEMPT AT A TOLERATION.—GRAME'S CASE.—UNION.—GREENSHIELD'S CASE.—HOSTILITY TO THE LITURGY.—A TOLERATION.—INTRODUCTION OF LITURGY.—REBELLION IN 1715.—SEVERE LAWS AGAINST THE CLERGY.—THE APPEAL OF THE CLERGY.—DIVISIONS ON THE USAGES.—DISCUSSIONS.—RELAXATION OF PENAL LAWS.—REBELLION OF 1745.—SEVERE MEASURES.—GEORGE III.—COMMUNION OFFICE.—CONDITION OF CLERGY IMPROVED.—CONSECRATION OF BISHOP SEABURY.—BISHOPS AND CLERGY COMPLY IN 1788 ON THE DEATH OF CHARLES EDWARD.—PENAL LAWS REPEALED.—OPPOSITION TO COMMUNION OFFICE FROM ENGLISH CLERGYMEN.—ITS UNREASONABLE CHARACTER.



HAVING followed the history of the English Nonjurors, from the year 1688, to the time of their extinction as an organized body, it is necessary, in order to complete the subject, to submit a sketch of the proceedings in Scotland, with respect to the Episcopalians, during the period comprehended in the preceding chapters. While some only, in England, who adhered to Episcopacy, refused the Oath of Allegiance, in Scotland the greater number of the

Episcopalians became Nonjurors. Nor were their sufferings, under the domination of Presbytery, less than those of their brethren in England. They would have been satisfied, like their brethren in this country, with the establishment of a Regency, in the person of the Prince of Orange : but they could not consent to set aside King James, and swear allegiance to a new Sovereign.

The Scottish Bishops were informed of the Prince's intended invasion in October, 1688 : and, in consequence, they prepared an address to King James. As soon as they heard that the Prince had actually arrived in England, they deputed two of their body to proceed to London, with a renewed tender of their duty to King James, and also for the purpose of consulting the English Bishops. For this mission the Bishops of Edinburgh and Orkney, Dr. Rose and Dr. Bruce, were selected by their brethren : but the latter Prelate falling ill, the former proceeded to London alone.

An interesting detail of his proceedings was given by Bishop Rose in a letter to Campbell, in the year 1713. Campbell, who had associated himself with Hickes, was anxious to obtain an account of the proceedings in 1688, and as Bishop Rose was then living, he applied to that Prelate by letter.

At the time of Rose's arrival in London, the persecution of the Clergy by the rabble had commenced. The Bishop, therefore, requested the Bishop of London to beseech the Prince of Orange to interpose ; but nothing was attempted : and when an application was made to Burnet, he replied, that he did not meddle with Scotch affairs. How Burnet, who meddled with all matters that suited his purpose, could make such an assertion, it is not easy to con-

ceive. The Bishop was requested by Compton and the Viscount Tarbat to address the Prince on the subject: but it was admitted, that it would be necessary to compliment him on his coming to deliver the country from Popery and slavery. This he could not do, as he had received no such instructions. The Bishop continued in London until the vote of Abdication had passed, when he began to think of returning to Scotland. The Bishop of London, even at that time, before William was seated on the throne, designated him as *the King*, and was anxious to induce Rose to wait upon him, on behalf of the suffering Episcopal Clergy in Scotland: but he replied, that, as the Prince had been already addressed by several of the nobility, as well as by the sufferers themselves, it would be useless for him to make the attempt. He, however, consented to go to the Prince, if the Bishop of London considered it desirable. Accordingly the Bishop of Edinburgh and Sir George Makenzie attended, at Whitehall, where they were met by Compton. The Prince declined to see more than two at one time, lest the Presbyterians should be offended. From the Bishop of London's remark, we may infer the state of feeling at the time. "My Lord, you see that the King, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see how otherwise he could be served. And now the King bids me tell you that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland: for while there he was made believe that Scotland generally, all over, was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy, and it is the

trading and inferior sort are for Presbytery ; wherefore he bids me tell you, that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose, that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians."

The Bishop expressed his thanks for the offer ; but he added, that such a Revolution was not expected, and that consequently, having no instructions, he could only give his private opinion, which was, that the Bishops of Scotland would not consent to make the Prince their Sovereign. Compton replied, that the King must be excused "*for standing by the Presbyterians.*" The Bishop did not speak to the Prince that day : but on the following morning he was admitted into his presence. "He came," says the Bishop, "three or four steps forward from his company, and prevented me by saying, my Lord, are you going for Scotland ? My reply was, yes, Sir, if you have any commands for me : then he said, I hope you will be kind to me and follow the example of England : wherefore, being somewhat diffculted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer, without entangling myself, I readily replied, Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience will allow me. How this answer pleased I cannot well tell, but it seems the limitations and conditions of it were not acceptable, for instantly the Prince, without saying any more, turned away from me and went back to his company." The Bishop believes that the Prince would have cast off the Presbyterians, since they had committed themselves too far to return to King James. Duke Hamilton "told us, a day or two before the sitting down of the Convention, that he had it in special charge from King William that nothing should be done to the prejudice of Episcopacy in Scotland,

in case the Bishops could by any means be brought to befriend his interest, and prayed us most pathetically for our own sake to follow the example of the Church of England.”^a

There can be no doubt that William would have patronized Episcopacy in Scotland, as well as in England, if he could have succeeded with the Bishops. It is clear, therefore, that the Bishops and Clergy of Scotland acted conscientiously, like their brethren in England. They had everything to gain by compliance with William : and nothing whatever to lose ; but they had courage to hold to their principles, regardless of consequences.^b We cannot indeed suppose that William had any preference for Episcopacy. He only considered his own interests in the matter : and knowing, that the Presbyterians were committed, he would have been ready to have made a compromise in favour of the Episcopal Church.

The Presbyterians began to act with the Prince, as soon as he came to London : and in consequence of

^a This letter was, I believe, first printed in 1746 in “ A Collection of Letters concerning the Separation of the Church of England into two Communions.” It was also printed by Bishop Keith in 1755. Keith’s Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, by Russell, p. 65—72.

^b Keith’s Historical Catalogue. App. 494, 5. This is admitted by Laing, who quotes Keith and Burnet as his authorities. His words are remarkable : “ William, indifferent to forms of worship if toleration were established, would have concurred in preserving Episcopacy, if the Episcopal party had contributed to his support.” vol. iv. 214. Tindal also makes the same admission. “ The Prince answered, he would do all he could to preserve them, granting a full toleration to the Presbyterians. But this was, in case they concurred in the new settlement of the Kingdom.” He adds, that the Bishops and others “ declaring in a body with so much zeal, in opposition to the new settlement, it was not possible for King William to preserve Episcopacy there.” Vol. i. 72, 73.

the refusal of the Bishops to give him their support, Presbytery was received into favour. From Bishop Rose's Letter, it will be seen, that the persecutions commenced as soon as, if not before, William landed. The rabble began an attack upon the Clergy, which they were permitted to continue without interruption by any of the authorities. "On Christmas Day," says an able writer, by no means favourable to Episcopacy, "the Episcopal Clergy were dragged from their pulpits or altars; they were conducted through their parishes in mock procession; stript of their gowns, and expelled by force, or were permitted peaceably to depart, on a solemn assurance never to return. Two hundred Clergymen of the Episcopal persuasion were thus ejected; and as the same violence prevailed for some weeks through the rest of Scotland, the Revolution was almost equally complete in the Church and in the state." This is the admission of a writer, who even applauds the Cameronians for abstaining "from a massacre of the established Clergy."^c Such admissions, therefore, may be regarded as confirmatory of the statements of the friends of the Clergy. These however were only the beginning of sorrows. After the abolition of the Church of Scotland, as an established Church, the Clergy were doomed to suffer from two quarters, from the rabble, and from the Presbyterians.

As William supported Presbytery in Scotland, because the Episcopalians refused to recognize him as their Sovereign, the Presbyterians have no room

^c Laing's History of Scotland, iv. 194. It seems, that a rumour was designedly circulated that some Irish Papists had landed, as a signal to the rabble to attack the Clergy, who were treated with the greatest violence. Somers Tracts, xv. 133—136.

for boasting that their system was adopted in preference to Episcopacy. It certainly was not chosen on account of its purity, as they choose to imagine or to assert, but because King William found them more ready to render him their support, than the Bishops and Clergy. Whether the refusal of the latter was a blot upon their memory, posterity will decide. At all events, they were honest in their course, for it led to the loss of all their worldly goods. The Bishop of Edinburgh's reply was frank and open. He had not expected any such Revolution, and he had the courage to say so. Perceiving that the Bishops and Clergy would not support him, the King threw himself into the arms of the Presbyterians.

Not a few Presbyterian writers pretend, that the bulk of the nation were Presbyterians. This assertion, however, is contrary to the fact. Candid persons even on the Presbyterian side of the question admit, that Scotland was almost equally divided between the friends of Prelacy and Presbytery; the lower and middle classes adhering to the latter, the nobles and gentry to the former.^d Carstairs used his influence with the King, alleging two special reasons in favour of Presbytery—*First*, that the Presbyterians were generally Whigs: *Secondly*, that the settlement of Presbytery in Scotland would shew the Dissenters in England what they might expect, when the King should be able.^e Carstairs introduced the

^d Dalrymple's Memoirs, i. 418. It was truly remarked by the author of the Life of Kettlewell: "Episcopacy was abolished, and Presbytery established upon the inclinations of the people, though not a third part at that time were Presbyterian, and some say not a fourth." Life, 124.

^e Dalrymple, i. 551.

Presbyterian ministers to the Prince in London, assuring him that they were devoted to his service. They had gone to London at the suggestion of that gentleman, who cunningly arranged most of the Scottish affairs of this period. But though anxious for Presbytery himself, he admits, that the King would have given his sanction to Episcopacy : and that he consented to abolish it with difficulty.^f

It is unnecessary to detail in this work the proceedings of the Scottish Convention, which issued in a tender of the crown to William and Mary, since my object is to give an account of the sufferers for conscience sake, who were deprived, as in England, of their preferments, for not taking the Oath to the new Sovereigns. It will, therefore, be sufficient to state, that the Presbyterian Church government was set up by Act of Parliament in 1690 : and the ancient platform was cast down. Justice, however, must be done to William's character. He was anxious to tolerate such Episcopal Clergymen as were prepared to retain their stations, under the new order of things, provided they did not disturb his government : and in this respect, his conduct presents a bright contrast to that of the Presbyterians, who acted with all their former intolerance. Even Carstairs appears to have been afraid of the very men whom he had assisted to bring into power in the Church.^g

When the Convention met, the Bishops as usual

^f Carstairs's Life, &c. pp. 36—44. Birch admits, that " the true reason of the destruction of Episcopacy there, after the Revolution, is to be attributed to the conduct of the Bishops themselves, both previous and subsequent to it." He adds, that it was not possible for King William to preserve Episcopacy. Birch's Life of Tillotson, 308, 309.

^g Carstairs, 44—50. Hallam, iii. 442, 443.

took their seats. The proceedings were opened with Prayer by one of the Prelates; and, as the Book of Common Prayer was not used in Scotland, the officiating Bishop was left to his own discretion.^h The house, therefore, made a particular order, that “the Bishops in their Prayers should not mention or insinuate anything against their acts or proceedings.” On the day on which the throne was declared vacant, “when all the business of the day was over, one of the Bishops offered to say Prayers according to custom. Upon which it was moved, that King James, being then no longer King of Scotland, that the Bishop should be admonished to pray for him at his peril. Which the Bishop observing, to avoid the incurring a penalty, very discreetly said only the Lord’s Prayer: and so the house adjourned.”ⁱ

^h Tindal says the Bishop of Edinburgh, and that “he prayed for the safety and restoration of King James.” vol. i. 64.

ⁱ History of the Late Revolution in Scotland, London, 1690. pp. 92—100. There was much management required to mould the Convention into a proper state. It is remarkable, that in 1687, when King James published his *Declaration of Indulgence*, very few of the gentry took advantage of it to forsake their parish Churches. For several years, in the North of Scotland, after the Revolution, the people refused to admit the Presbyterian Ministers, and set the General Assembly at defiance. Yet the Convention voted that Episcopacy was contrary to the inclinations of the people. The truth is, the Episcopalians refused to sit in the Convention, or, after attending once, declined to attend further: while some were driven away by the mob, which was with the Presbyterians. When the vote, therefore, was carried, not more than a third of the members were present: consequently, the Presbyterians were able to carry any vote they pleased. Even Tindal, partial as he generally is, gives an honest account of this matter. “But the Bishops, and those who adhered to them having left the Convention, the Presbyterians had a majority of voices to carry every thing as they pleased, how unreasonable soever, and upon this the abolishing of Episcopacy was made a necessary article of the New Settlement.” vol. i. 72.

All the Clergy, who refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to the new Sovereigns, were removed from their Parishes; and “from their refusal, they soon acquired the appellation of Nonjurors.”^k Mr. Laing even makes Presbytery the condition, on which William was admitted to the throne, thereby insinuating, that the people of Scotland would not have received him on any other terms. Yet, had the Bishops yielded to the King’s wishes, the government would have been settled on such conditions as would have prevented Presbytery from being established. “As Presbytery was the condition on which he was admitted to the throne, an Act was passed to abolish prelacy and pre-eminence in Ecclesiastical Office.”^l Undoubtedly William was placed in circumstances of difficulty.^m By favouring the Episcopal Clergy, he immediately gave offence to the Presbyterians. The mistake, however, in Scotland, as well as in England, was the imposition of the Oath upon the Clergy, who were in possession of benefices. It would have been sufficient for the safety of the government to have enjoined the Oath in all new appointments; but this wise and moderate course did not suit the views of either the Scottish, or the English advisers of King William: and hence the sad and lamentable schisms and divisions in both countries.

Such Episcopal Clergymen as took the Oath of Allegiance, and acknowledged Presbytery as the only legal establishment, were allowed by the State to retain their churches, and also to be admitted, with the Presbyterian Clergy, to a share in the Ecclesiastical government. To assent to Presbytery, as established

^k Laing’s History, iv. 211.

^l Ibid. iv. 214.

^m Ibid. iv. 233.

by law, did not involve any opinion respecting its Scriptural or primitive character, which no Episcopalian could possibly admit. Besides, as no form of Prayer was imposed by the Presbyterians, the Clergy could proceed in the management of public worship, nearly in the same manner as previous to the Revolution. Accordingly a considerable number of the Episcopal Clergy complied, and continued in their respective Parishes.

But though King William was anxious to comprehend, within the establishment, as many of the Clergy as possible, the Presbyterians were by no means pleased with their compliance: consequently all kinds of expedients were adopted, in order to get rid of such Clergymen as were known to favour Episcopacy. Nor was the King much in favour with the more rigid of the Presbyterian party, in consequence of his notions of a comprehension, and a toleration. The means resorted to for the purpose of removing the Clergy may now be specified.

It has been mentioned already, that the rabble commenced the work of persecution, as soon as the news of the arrival of the Prince of Orange reached Scotland. Some notices of the harsh treatment, which the Clergy received, may be submitted to the reader as evidences of the persecuting character of Presbytery: and it will be seen, that hostility to Episcopacy was so wrought into the very nature of the Presbyterians, that they could not tolerate a man, who considered Bishops as the only lawful governors of the Church of Christ.

In a contemporary publication the sufferers are divided into *four classes*, as follows:

“First those persecuted by the mobility before the 13th day of April 1689, and not noticed by the estates,

but totally neglected, as deserts, and left without the Protection of the Government. 2. Those who complied, and were persecuted by the rabble: or those, who after they complied, were deprived by the council, because they did it not on the individual day appointed, when the proclamation came not to their hands against the time required, nor could they have the opportunity of observing it sooner, than when they obeyed it. 3. Those who were deprived by the council for non-compliance, there being not so much as twenty-four hours given some of them to advise in so weighty an affair. 4. Those who are now deposed by the Holy Inquisition of the Presbyterian Assembly.”^a

More than *three hundred* Clergymen were thrust out of their houses and their parishes by the rabble, and then deprived of their possessions for no crime whatever, but solely on account of their views of Church government, and because they were obnoxious

^a A Late Letter concerning the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland. 4to. London 1691, p. 20. Tindal's admissions are fully confirmatory of this account. He admits that Lord Melvill deemed it his interest to secure the Presbyterians, “which he found no method so effectual to do as by abandoning the ministers of the Episcopal persuasion to their fury.” To accomplish his object Melvill set up the Earl of Crawford to act as the head of his party, who “received and encouraged all the complaints that were made against the Episcopal ministers.” The Convention had ordered a proclamation to be read in the churches, which did not reach the Clergy till the Sunday morning, and in some cases not till the next day: yet, “complaints were brought to the Council of all those, who had not read nor obeyed the proclamation; and they were in a summary way deprived. Those who did not read the proclamation on the day appointed had no favour, though they did it afterwards: and upon any word that fell from them, either in their extemporary prayers or sermons, that shewed disaffection to the Government, they were also deprived.” Vol. i. 105.

to the Presbyterians, to whom the mob was subject. The Presbyterians did not interpose to check the rabble, or to restrain their excesses: and Gilbert Rule, the great defender of the Kirk in that day, actually admits the charge. "If few did it," says this author, that is, preach against such unchristian conduct, "it was because they, who were the actors in that scene, little regarded the preaching of the sober Presbyterians." Sage sarcastically remarks: "it might be of use to inquire what kind of scene he took it to be? Whether tragical or comical? or both? Tragical to the Prelatists, and comical to the Presbyterians? It was worth inquiring likewise, whom he meant by sober Presbyterian preachers? If there are any such in the nation? How many?" Rule had said, that the ministers had publicly spoken against the practices of the rabble, "both before they were acted for preventing them, and after, for reproving them and preventing the like;" from which Sage infers, that the *rabbling* of the Clergy was not by accident, but a devised scheme; that the Presbyterians were aware of the plan, though they did not concur with the mob. He assures us also, that some, to his own knowledge, admitted, that "it was the surest way to have the curates once dispossessed."^o

^o The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, as it hath been lately established in the Kingdom of Scotland, Examined and Disproved, by the History, Records, and Public Transactions of our Nation. Together with a Preface: wherein the Vindicator of the Kirk is freely put in mind of his habitual infirmities. 8vo. London, 1695. Preface. Two works by this Author cannot be too highly praised. The Principles of the Cyprianic Age, with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction: asserted and recommended from the genuine Writings of St. Cyprian himself, and his Contemporaries. By which it is made evident that the Vindicator of the Kirk of Scotland is obliged, by his own concessions, to acknowledge that

The very attempts of the Defenders of the Presbyterians prove the truth of the Charges: and the anxiety of some of their writers to palliate or explain away the conduct of the rabble, with the tacit admissions of others, may be regarded as evidence of the substantial accuracy of the statements of the sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy. “A great part of the ministers of the nation, legally and ecclesiastically settled in their churches, were, without being accused, convicted or judged for any fault, turned out with their wives and infants in the winter season, from their houses, offices, and livings, in a most unworthy and reproachful manner by insolent rabbles, against which the Presbyterian ministers did never remonstrate, nor has there been to this day any kind of redress of a barbarity so unbecoming a Christian nation.”^p

But in addition to this treatment from the mob, they were subjected to oppressions from the Presbyterians, who were anxious to remove all the Episcopal Clergy. In the first General Assembly after the Revolution, it was attempted to exclude all persons from being present, except the friends of Presbytery. “If any of the Episcopal party were discovered, there was a cry presently, *Conformists are here*: and the officers were sent to thrust them out.”^q Some few

he and his associates are Schismatics. In a Letter to a Friend. By J. S. 4to. London, 1695. A Vindication of a Discourse, entitled the Principles, &c. Being a Reply to Gilbert Rule's Cypranic *Bishop Examined and found not to be a Diocesan*, &c. 4to. London, 1701.

^p Case of the Episcopal Clergy, p. 11.

^q An Historical Relation of the late Presbyterian General Assembly held at Edinburgh from Oct. 16 to Nov. 13, in the year 1690, in a Letter from a Person in Edinburgh to his Friend in London. London, 1691. P. i.

of the friends to the ancient order of Church government, however, obtained admission to all their meetings, and from them the particulars respecting the proceedings of this assembly have been derived. When it was demanded, why there should be so much anxiety to remove the Episcopal Clergy, it was answered; "that there was less prejudice both to Church and people, by the want of preaching, than by the preaching of men of Episcopal principles and persuasions." One of their preachers boldly declared in a sermon before the Parliament, "that it was better that the temple of the Lord did lie sometimes unbuilt and unrepaired, than be reared up by Gibeonites and Samaritans." In short, the chief business consisted of hearing libels and citations against Episcopal Ministers.^r The process was not very dissimilar to that, which had been adopted under the reign of Presbytery in England. In both cases the Clergy were not only removed from their parishes, but the most iniquitous means were resorted to, for the purpose of injuring their reputation.

Though Episcopacy was abolished, "it was not so easy to settle Presbytery." This is the admission of Tindal, who says, "if they had followed the pattern set them in the year 1638, all the Clergy in a parity were to assume the government of the Church: but those being Episcopal, they did not think it safe to put the power of the Church in such hands. It was therefore pretended, that such of the Presbyterian ministers as had been turned out in the year 1662, ought to be considered as the only sound part of the Church. And of these there happened to be then threescore alive. The government of the Church was therefore

^r An Historical Relation, &c. p. 9.

lodged with them : and they were impowered to take to their assistance, and to a share in the Church government, such as they should think fit." He then alludes to some furious men who had been secretly ordained by the Presbyterians, and who " were presently taken in. This was like to prove a fatal error at their first setting out. The old men, who by reason of their age or their experience of former mistakes, were disposed to more moderate counsels ; but the taking in of such a number of violent men, put it out of their power to pursue them." These men, he remarks, were full of rage against such of the Episcopal Clergy " as had escaped the rage of the former year. Accusations were raised ; but these were only thrown out to defame them : and when they looked for proof, it was in a way more becoming Inquisitors than Judges : so apt are all parties in their hours of power, to fall into these very excesses of which they did formerly make such tragical complaints."* These are the admissions of a man who was favourable to their claims.

No Liturgy was used in Scotland between the Restoration and the Revolution, though Episcopacy was the government established by law ; but each Clergyman conducted public worship according to his own method. One gentleman was, therefore, charged in this Assembly with having said, on an occasion when some person had expressed his fears of the English Liturgy, "*God send us no worse.*" He told the Assembly that he was indeed sorry, if any such expression had dropped from him, " because he was sensible it was too mean for so great and so glorious

* Tindal, i. 124.

a Church as that of England.” Another Clergyman was charged with having circulated superstitious and erroneous books, among which were *The Whole Duty of Man* and *Scougall’s Catechism*. At the opening of the Assembly, the Preacher drew a parallel between Presbytery and the cleansing of the Temple of the Buyers and Sellers: and at one of their sessions the presiding minister, after recognizing Christ as Supreme Head of the Church, added in his Prayer; “Thou knowest, O Lord, that when we own any other it is only for decency’s sake.” On another occasion, the minister who officiated, after praying for moderation, added, “O Lord, to be free it would be better to make a clean house.” At some of their special meetings for Prayer, eight or ten individuals prayed in succession, which, coupled with their actions in removing so many exemplary Clergymen, led some persons to observe that they were practising what our Lord condemns in the Sixth Chapter of St. Matthew, and others, that they were imitating the Popish Masses.

This account of the Assembly is confirmed by the admissions of writers, who usually speak favourably of the Presbyterians. “The truth was, that the Presbyterians, by their violence, and other absurd practices, were rendering both odious and contemptible. They had formed a General Assembly at the end of the former year, in which they very much exposed themselves by the violence of their conduct. Little learning or prudence appeared among them: poor preaching, and wretched haranguing: partialities to one another, and violence and injustice to those who differed from them, appeared in all their meetings. And these so much sunk their reputation, that they

were weaning the nation most effectually from all fondness to their government.¹”

It is singular that in Scotland at this time, as was the case in England after the year 1640, the most iniquitous courses were pursued, by the Presbyterians, against the Clergy, under the garb of sanctity and purity.^u

Besides citations and libels, the Assembly had also to consider the appeals of some of the Clergy, whom they wished to remove. At these they were exceedingly puzzled. “The Assembly was just so puzzled with the appeals of the Episcopal Clergy, as their ancestors the Pharisees were with the question about John’s baptism: for on the one side, they feared the court, who desired and required them to be moderate: but on the other hand it was against their interest to condemn the proceedings of the Presbyteries.”^x One Clergyman was asked, whether he acknowledged the civil government, and whether he would submit to that of the Church? and on answering in the affirmative, he was asked “if he repented of his compliance with Episcopacy?” To this question, he replied, “if it was a sin, he would repent of it.” The moderator observed, that he doubted on the subject: and the poor man was prohibited from preaching.^y

In the year 1693, it was ordered, that, beside the

¹ Tindal, i. 182.

^u Historical Relation, &c. pp. 11, 12, 18, 23, 35, 36. “To annoyances incessant, and almost inconceivable, was added the moral martyrdom of calumnies the most gross, that the people might believe the Clergy to be as their enemies designed them, *Scandalous Ministers*.” Bishop Walker’s Charge, &c. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1833, p. 35.

^x Ibid. 39.

^y Ibid. 42, 43.

Oath of Allegiance, the Clergy and all official persons, should sign *an assurance*, in which William and Mary were recognized as lawful and rightful Sovereigns, or King and Queen *De Jure*, as well as *De Facto*. To this *assurance* many of the Presbyterians had a most decided objection, viewing it as involving a question which they could not decide. Endeavours were not wanting, though at first without success, to procure a dispensation in favour of the Presbyterians. A despatch was made up for Scotland, ordering that the Assurance should be imposed in all cases ; but Carstairs, who resided in the court, and was high in favour with the king, ventured to keep back this particular document. When Carstairs acquainted his Majesty with what he had done, the King manifested some degree of anger ; but in a short time he yielded to the representations of the Scotchman, and the *Assurance* was dispensed with in favour of the Presbyterians. It appears that some even of the Presbyterians could not take the Oath of Allegiance to William, on the ground that the terms of the Oath to King James were so strong, that they could not transfer their allegiance to another family : consequently the Oath of *Assurance* was much more unpalatable. It has indeed been supposed, that the Presbyterians would have excited a rebellion, if Carstairs had not interposed.^z Thus the Presbyterians

^z Carstairs, 52—63. Russell's Keith, 497, 504. Russell's History of the Church in Scotland, ii. 376, 377. There was apparently some truth in the following sarcastic remark : “ *Carstairs*, a *Super-Presbyterian*, that is, a *Cameronian Preacher*, attends *King William's* person, both at home and abroad, like a jewel in his ear: *we* make a shew in the *Chapel*, but *he* exercises the office of *Confessor* in the *Closet*. His advice is taken in all the Spiritual promotions of our *Church*: and we feel the effects of it very sensibly.” Querela Temporum, p. 16.

were indulged in their scruples, while the *Assurance* was pressed upon the Episcopal Clergy, some of whom, however, complied, submitting to Presbytery as a *legal* establishment, and hoping to be permitted to exercise their ministry quietly.

But the compliance of any of the Episcopalians was exceedingly distasteful to the Presbyterians, who contended that the Clergy who submitted would only acknowledge the *De Facto* title, until they were in a capacity to raise a rebellion. Though some Presbyterians pleaded for the *De Jure* title, while others opposed it, yet the Episcopal Clergy were persecuted by both parties. Notwithstanding the fact that many Presbyterians were so averse to the *Assurance*, a writer of that party infers the disaffection of the Episcopal Clergy from "their behaviour now, seeing they universally refuse the *Assurance*, though many of them formerly had sworn allegiance, which is in plain English no other than a granting of the premises, and a denying the conclusion: or according to the example of a certain gentleman in England, granting the abdication, and denying the vacancy."^a Hence, what was a crime in an Episcopalian, was deemed a virtue in a Presbyterian.

The Presbyterians were greatly annoyed with the submission of some of the Clergy to Presbytery, as

^a The Scots Episcopal Innocence: or the Juggling of that Party with the late King, his present Majesty, the Church of England, and the Church of Scotland demonstrated. Together with a Catalogue of the Scots Episcopal Clergy, turned out for their Disloyalty, and other Enormities since the Revolution. And a Postscript, with Reflections on a late malicious Pamphlet, entitled *The Spirit of Malice and Slander*. Particularly addressed to Dr. Monroe, and his journeymen Mr. Simon Wild, Mr. Andrew Johnston, &c., near Thieving Lane, Westminster, by Will. Laik, London, 4to. 1694, p. 7.

the *legal* establishment, charging them with subscribing "The Confession of Faith as that of the nation, but not their own." The charge was perfectly true; and the Clergy were quite consistent in their course, which was also in accordance with the views of the Government, who only called upon them to submit to Presbytery, as the *legal* establishment. King William was therefore compelled to interpose to check the Presbyterians.^b Had a disclaimer of Episcopacy been required, not one Episcopal Clergyman would have remained within the establishment. William wished to embrace all, while the Presbyterians were anxious to exclude all. "He disobliged the Presbyterians (the only party on whom he could rely in Scotland) to gratify," says the writer just quoted, "the Prelatists, in forbearing to punish those who had forfeited their lives by overturning the constitution of government in the late reigns: nay, and that which was more, advanced some of them to the highest places of power and trust, while he turned out Presbyterians who ventured all for him, and were steadfast to him. He disobliged the Presbyterians by ordering the General Assembly to admit the Episcopal Clergy on such terms as the Parliament have thought fit to refuse, and then by dissolving them for their declining it."^c Thus is it avowed, that the Presbyterians would have had execution done upon

^b Birch's Life of Tillotson, 310, 311, 312. "This was a strain of moderation that the Presbyterians were not easily brought to. A subscription that owned Presbytery to be the only legal government of that Church, without owning any divine right in it, was far below their usual pretensions. And this act vested the King with an authority very like that which they used to condemn as *Erastianism*." Tindal, p. 246.

^c Scots Episcopal Innocence, pp. 9, 10.

persons, who merely administered the law in the two previous reigns: and King William is reproached for not executing their cruel demands. What then could the poor Clergy expect from such men! Had they been left to the tender mercies of their enemies, their case would have been sad indeed.

This author gives a list of the Clergy, who had been deprived up to the period of his writing. *First*, we have a considerable number deprived by the Committee of Estates, in the month of May, 1689, for not reading the Proclamation enjoined by the State: and this the author considers a crime of sufficient magnitude to justify deprivation. *Secondly*, he gives another list of Clergymen “turned out afterwards by the Council.” These are numbered, and their alleged offences are specified. The perusal of it revives the recollection of *White’s Infamous Centurie* in 1643, when the same custom of blackening the characters of the Clergy, in order to ejection, was adopted. The crimes alleged were *not praying for the King and Queen by name: not reading the various Proclamations:*^d *encouraging the disaffected: not obeying the Thanksgiving: having been appointed by the Bishops: leaving the Church when the papers were read by others.* Such were the charges. If the Clergy did not appear, they were deprived on the ground of their own confession, their absence being regarded as an acknowledgment of guilt. Thus this unscrupulous writer, who gives an account of each

^d It has been already proved that some of the Clergy never heard of the Proclamations, until the period fixed for reading them had elapsed. See “A Representation of the Church in North Britain, as to Episcopacy and Liturgy, and of the Sufferings of the orthodox and regular Clergy, from the enemies to both, 8vo. London, 1718.” P. 16.

individual, writes against the names of some who did not appear, "*Absent, and holden as confest. Deprived.*"* This second list contains the names of one hundred and eighty-four Clergymen, besides the twenty names in the preceding list: and all of them were deprived in the summer of 1689. These acts were perpetrated at the commencement of the Revolution: and, as considerable numbers actually submitted to the Government, the Presbyterians themselves prove most incontestably, as I have already shewn, that their Church was set up, not because it was the best and purest system, or because the majority wished it; but because, on political grounds, it suited King William's interests. They cannot boast, therefore, that Presbytery was established for its own sake; but they must admit that William would have sanctioned Episcopacy in the Church, if the Bishops and Clergy could have sanctioned the change in the government of the State. Such was the origin of the Presbyterian establishment in 1689, though its advocates affect to believe, that it was owing to the express voice and wish of the nation. It originated

* It should be mentioned that the Churches, from which the Clergy had been expelled by the rabble, were declared vacant, "from the date of the rabbling." *Representation, &c.* p. 16. *Somers' Tracts*, xv. 133, 136. The causes to which the abolition of Episcopacy must be attributed, have been already stated: but it remains to be mentioned that many difficulties were experienced in planting Presbyterian ministers in many parishes, the people being Episcopalians. The Convention abolished patronage, or the difficulties would have been still greater, since almost all the gentry, to whom the advowsons belonged, would have refused to present Presbyterians. But the dominant parties were exceedingly inconsistent with their own principles: for finding that the people were opposed to them, they placed the *calling of ministers* in the hands of the *Presbytery*, and not in the *parishes*, though they had pretended a *jure Divino* for popular suffrage.

only in what may be termed the accidental circumstance of the refusal, on the part of the Bishops and Clergy, to take the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary.

De Foe laboured, in his day, to defend the Presbyterians in their crusades against the Episcopal Clergy : but his very admissions prove all the charges which he attempts to refute. "The first, respects the conduct of the people, when they took up arms in a tumultuous manner at the beginning of the Revolution. The next respects the judicial proceedings against the Episcopal party since." The people, he says, first attacked the Church, because the Church had been the aggressor previously : and he thinks that less violence was committed than could have been expected. But, says he, the utmost violence was no more than "an over hasty turning the said Episcopal ministers out of the Parsonage houses, which it was their opinion were unlawfully possessed." He cannot ascertain that any were killed ! now surely on such principles any outrages or crimes may be justified. He even adduces the conduct of the rabble as "a great testimony of the moderation of the Presbyterians in Scotland."^f The deprivations by the State he justifies as a matter of course : but he forgets that Presbytery was set up, merely because the Bishops and Clergy could not renounce their allegiance to King James.^g

^f Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, 8vo. London, p. 312, 313, 314. An Account of the Parliament of Scotland in 1703. 8vo. p. 77.

^g No Scottish publisher could be induced to undertake the publication of *Sage's Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, in consequence of the apprehension of persecution : and the work was actually printed in London in the year 1695. This circumstance

The Act of Comprehension, which must be regarded as the act of his Majesty and his advisers, and not that of the Presbyterians, except so far as it was sanctioned unwillingly by as many of that body as had seats in Parliament, is actually adduced as a specimen of Presbyterian moderation. By this Act, which was passed in July 1695, all Episcopal clergymen, who had not been deprived, neither had yet qualified themselves, were allowed until September in that year to come in and take the Oath of Allegiance, and to subscribe the Assurance.^h

By the Comprehension, they were permitted to retain their benefices, though not to have any share in the government of the Church: but as the *Oath* and the *Assurance* were imposed as conditions, few only accepted of the terms. It is said by Presbyterians that they were dissuaded from compliance by certain noblemen.ⁱ Some, however, complied after-

proves that the Presbyterian authorities ruled with an iron hand in Scotland. They would have no discussions, even imitating on this, as on many other occasions, the conduct of the Church of Rome. Keith, 520.

^h They were to continue in their benefices "under the King's protection without being subject to the power of Presbytery. This was carried with some address before the Presbyterians were aware of the consequences of it: for it was plainly that which they called *Erastianism*. By a zealous and dexterous management about seventy of the best of them were brought to take the Oaths." Tindal, i. 286. "It appears by this Act," says a Presbyterian, "that some of them had been about six years in possession of their benefices, without taking the Oaths to the King and Queen, though there were express laws for dispossessing such as refused the said Oaths: and about three hundred and fifteen were turned out in 1689 and 1690 by the Committee of Estates and the Privy Council, as may be seen by the Journals." Account of Parliament, 82. The outed Clergy, as they were termed, or the Nonjurors, were not permitted to baptize, or to solemnize marriages.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 88.

wards. Thus Sir James Ogilvie mentions one hundred and sixteen in 1695, in his letter to Carstairs. In the same year, Mr. David Blair proposes to have an assembly to check the intemperance of the young ministers, Carstairs being afraid of calling one.^k The clergy thus comprehended were called *Protected ministers*: and as they had no share in the government of the Church, it was also understood, that they should not be subjected to the Church judicatories. Yet the Presbyterians attempted to bring them under their Church courts. Thus the Lord Advocate, writing to Carstairs in 1699, mentions two cases in which clergymen had been charged with crimes, and cited before the Presbytery. He condemns the Presbyterians: and it appears, that their purpose was defeated. The Lord Advocate observes, "I wrote to the Presbytery, that, though it were not provided in the Act of Parliament, that the Protected should be exempted; yet the Parliament, on the other hand, did expressly wave the making them subject to Presbyteries, and other Church judicatories; but provided, that upon their application, the Church might assume them or not; and therefore it was by my advice, that the Presbytery should look upon them as persons without, and pass from the judgment and censure they had pronounced by letting it fall to the ground."^l So that the Presbytery actually censured

^k Castairs, 263, 264. Laing, iv. 259.

^l Carstairs, 495, 496. It may be remarked, that until this Act of Comprehension passed, the Clergy were constantly harassed by the Presbyterian Church courts. By the Act of 1695, therefore, their condition was bettered, inasmuch as they were protected from the Church courts, provided they took the Oaths. Some "embraced their peace on these conditions, and qualified themselves on terms of law." See Representation of Church, &c. p. 17.

them ; but the Government interposed to prevent the execution of the sentence. Such was the state of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland during the reign of King William.

On the accession of Queen Anne, the Clergy expected some relief: but for some time they were subjected to disappointment, in consequence of the active opposition of the Presbyterians, who never failed to represent them, if they scrupled the Oaths, as ready to enter into a rebellion, or, if they took the Oaths, as still disaffected to the Government. The Queen, however, in 1702, addressed a Letter to the Privy Council, in which she expressed her wish, that the Episcopal Clergy should be permitted the free exercise of public worship: for she knew well, that hostility to Episcopacy was the cause of the hatred entertained by the Presbyterians. The Episcopal Clergy, therefore, presented an address to her Majesty, in which, after expressing their satisfaction at having a Queen of their ancient race of Kings, they beseech her to give liberty to those parishes, whose inhabitants were chiefly Episcopalians, to select ministers of their own principles. The next year another address was presented, in which they mention the sufferings of the Clergy in 1688 and 1689, and subsequent years. The Queen returned them a very kind and gracious answer.^m

^m Life of Queen Anne, vol. i. 153, 181. Tindal, with his usual partiality asserts, that the address to the Queen was procured by indirect means ; yet he does not give one particle of evidence in proof of his assertion. In fact, it was altogether false. Tindal, iv. 595. Many of the Clergy never complied so far as to take the Oaths, though they were not more attached to the exiled Prince, than some of those who took them. The latter complied with the existing Government, and intended to live quietly : but their inclinations were in favour of King James and his Son. A the

The Convention Parliament, which had been convened at the commencement of the Revolution, and by whom the crown had been conferred on William and Mary, had continued ever since: for the Presbyterians were afraid to hazard their establishment by a new election. As that Parliament had set up Presbytery, the party were anxious to continue it, lest a new one should favour Episcopacy. This circumstance affords a singular proof, that the country in general did not, as the act of 1690 declared, view Episcopacy as a grievance. A new Parliament was now, therefore, summoned; and an Act of Toleration was proposed, at which the Presbyterians became greatly alarmed. In an address to the Lord High Commissioner, the General Assembly say, "they are bold in the Lord, and in the name of the Church of God to attest his Grace, and the most honourable estates, that no such motion of any legal Toleration, to those of the prelati cal principles might be entertained by the Parliament." To tolerate "those of that way" said these meek and humble ministers of the Gospel, "would be to establish iniquity by a law:" and so artfully did the Kirk manage matters, that the act for a Toleration was dropped for this

Presbyterians found it very difficult to supply the churches, a considerable number of Episcopal clergymen were permitted to retain their benefices without taking the Oaths. Keith, by Russell, p. 502. See also Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, 54. I have a copy of this Address, printed on a single page, the reverse being blank. It is one of the original copies, which were printed for circulation among the friends of the Clergy. On this copy is the following memorandum in, I believe, the handwriting of Brett. "This address was presented by Dr. Skeen and Dr. Scott, who were introduced by ye D. of Queensbury and ye Viscount of Tarbat, March 1703."

Session.ⁿ The time was not fully arrived, and the friends of the Clergy permitted the Bill to be laid aside. The bare proposal filled the Presbyterians with alarm. "They published several books against it, and were the aggressors in the paper war that then commenced upon that subject. Mr. George Meldrum, a chief man amongst them, and moderator of their General Assembly, preached his sermon against Toleration before her Majesty's High Commissioner."^o

Meldrum had been an Episcopalian; but in consequence of some offence he joined the Presbyterians in 1687, and now wished to persecute his old friends. Sage's Work, consisting of several Letters, originated in Meldrum's Sermon. In the close of his Preface he says: "I cannot think but that all good men, and true sons of the Church of England, are sensibly affected with the calamities of their sister Church of Scotland; and it must move their pity *to see her in the dust*, for no other reason, but because she is Episcopal, and consequently Apostolical."

The intolerable tyranny exercised at this time, by the Presbyterians in Scotland, may be illustrated by the case of Mr. James Grame. This gentleman was a complying Episcopal clergyman at Dumfermline. Not only did he comply, but he was even a defender

ⁿ Life of Queen Anne, vol. i. 183, 185, 186. Account of the Parliament of 1703, pp. 38—42. Tindal, iv. 599.

^o Sage's Reasonableness of a Toleration enquired into, purely on Church Principles. London, 8vo. 1705. *Preface*. This is a very learned and able work, as indeed are all the productions of Sage. See the Petition to the Parliament against the proposed Toleration in Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 65. See also the Somers' Tracts for specimens of Presbyterian hostility to a Toleration, vol. xii. 490-1.

of the Revolution : yet because he believed Episcopacy to be of Apostolic institution, he was persecuted by the Presbyterians.

Mr. Grame was summoned to appear before the Provincial Synod of Fyfe, in the year 1701 : when it was alleged that he had reflected on the covenant, and that he had asserted that Christ died for all men. For these alleged crimes, he was actually deposed from the ministry by the Presbyterian Church court. This is only one, among many, of the tyrannical acts of the party at the period now under review.^p

Though the proposed toleration was not carried, and the state of the Episcopal Clergy was not much improved, yet they had the satisfaction of knowing, that the Queen wished to relieve them from the tyranny of the Presbyterians. The Union of England and Scotland took place, according to the Act, on the 1st of May, 1707 : but the Episcopal Clergy were not affected by that important measure, which was carried as a matter of policy, though some of the Presbyterians represented it as an apostacy. The

^p The Famous Tryal of the late Reverend and Learned Mr. James Grame, Episcopal Minister of Dumfermline : formerly Professor of Humanity at St. Andrew's, before the several Courts of Church Judicature in Scotland ; who was, amongst other things, arraigned by the Commissioners for the Kirk Session at Dumfermline, condemned, and at last deposed by the Provincial Synod of Fyfe, on the 20th of June, 1701, for having advanced and maintained two of the great and capital truths of the Christian religion, viz. 1. That Christ died for all those that profess the Gospel ; 2. That he hath purchased pardon and salvation for them, upon condition that they believe in him and repent of their sins. Being a true and impartial narrative of the Presbyterian proceedings against Mr. Grame : together with his Defences at large. The whole writ by the defendant soon after he was deposed, and now first published for the information of such as are strangers to the doctrines and tenets of Presbyterians. London, 8vo. 1719.

opponents to that measure considered, that they were pledged, by the covenant, to urge perpetual war against Prelacy : whereas, the union would connect them with a country, whose Church was Episcopal, and which they feared might swallow up their own beloved Presbytery. Those Presbyterians who consented were regarded, by their more zealous brethren, as Apostates from the faith of their fathers, as Erastians, or as persons indifferent alike to all forms and all systems. Many preached against it, and others prayed against it : still the measure was carried.⁹ The first Parliament of Great Britain was opened on the 23rd of October, 1707.

At this period the Episcopalians were in no way diminished in numbers, though official posts could only be filled by Presbyterians ; and they had nothing to hold out to proselytes, except a prospect of persecution by the Kirk. Previous to the Union, and during the progress of the proceedings which led to it, some of the adherents of the Pretender were engaged in a scheme for an invasion. Ker, a Presbyterian, who was acquainted with many of the Jacobites, was employed by the Government as a spy. This gentleman has left us various notices of the Episcopalians in *The Memoirs of His Life*, which were published in 1726. His evidence on the subject may be depended upon, because, as a Presbyterian, he was necessarily opposed to Episco-

⁹ Somerville, 213. The rigid Presbyterians objected to receive laws from a Parliament where Bishops sat as members. They looked upon such a thing as contrary to the covenant. Ker's Memoirs, p. 29. One of the Preachers of the Cameronians stated publicly, that the Queen had forfeited her right to the crown, by imposing the union on the country. Ibid. p. 53.

pacy. He states the Episcopal party to have been then "near one half of the nation."^r So little were the Presbyterians indebted, either to their numbers, or their principles, for the ascendancy of their system.

But many of the Presbyterians, like some of the English Whigs at the same period, were secret favourers of the Pretender's claims, though, only a few years before, they had denounced the Episcopal Clergy because they could not take the Oaths. Especially was this the case subsequent to the Union : so that, in consequence of their dislike to that measure, they were even ready to restore the son of James II. This is a singular circumstance : but abundant evidence of the fact is furnished by Ker, by Hooke, and by Lockhart. They agreed to support the Pretender on condition, that he never consented to the Union, and that he supported the Protestant religion. Could they have set the Pretender on the throne, on these conditions, they would have done so, in consequence of their hostility to the Union.^s

The Union occupied the Presbyterians so completely at this period, that their attention was for a time drawn off from the Episcopal Clergy : but when the feeling, which that measure created, had subsided, they did not overlook a body of men, whose

^r Ker's Memoirs, p. 16. At this time none of the Episcopal Clergy were legally tolerated except those who held Parish Churches under the Comprehension Act : but in consequence of the Queen's countenance and support, the worship of others in private houses was connived at. Keith, by Russell, 506.

^s Ker's Memoirs, pp. 28-9. Hooke's Secret History of Negotiations in Scotland in 1707, pp. 11, 31, 43-47. Lockhart Papers, i. 302-308.

principles they so much disliked.^t A case occurred in the year 1709, which excited all their ancient hatred, and which may be regarded as one of the grossest instances of intolerance recorded in the annals of bigotry. Mr. Greenshields, whose father had been *rabbled* out of his Church at the Revolution, was ordained by one of the Scottish Prelates : and after serving a curacy in Ireland, he ventured to return to Scotland. Having opened a meeting house in Edinburgh, he commenced the use of the English Liturgy, which had not yet been adopted in the Episcopal congregations.

By the Act of Comprehension, the Episcopal Clergy were protected and exempt from the Church courts, provided they took the *Oaths* and the *Assurance*. Greenshields had complied according to law, and also prayed for her Majesty : consequently, the Presbyterian Church courts had no authority in such a case, since he was specially exempted from their jurisdiction.^u

^t The writer of the *Life of Carstairs* says of the Union, “ The Union of the kingdoms, though attended with other happy consequences, gave a fatal blow to the importance of the Church of Scotland in the eye of Government : and the General Assembly was no longer formidable to administration, as it had been from the Revolution down to this period.” Surely this was a happy result. *Carstairs*, 78.

^u *Lockhart Papers*, i. 345—348, 520—528. In 1703, a riot took place at Glasgow in consequence of the English Service. Mr. Burges, who had taken the Oaths, attempted to conduct the Service according to the Liturgy, upon which the mob broke into the meeting, and, but for the interference of the magistrates, would have proceeded to acts of violence against the congregation. *Somerville*, 468. In two years, twenty thousand copies of the Book of Common Prayer were circulated in Scotland, notwithstanding the attempts of the Presbyterians to suppress it, as the *English Mass*. *Somers' Tracts*, xii. 490, 491.

De Foe published his *History of the Union*, while Greenshields's case was before the public. Had he waited until the decision of the House of Lords had been awarded, it is not unlikely, that he would have expressed himself in terms somewhat different. His conduct, however, in this matter, proves him to have been dishonest and unprincipled as a writer of history, whatever may have been the case with him in other matters. While the cause was pending, this unscrupulous writer insinuated, that the matter was devised by the Nonjurors, to bring "the people to prosecute and attack them." He says, that the Government and magistrates were so lenient, that they would not persecute the Nonjurors, though they even prayed for the Pretender, and that, therefore, another *expedient* was devised, "which they are assured the Scots will not bear: and this was erecting the Common Prayer or English Liturgy in Scotland." He proceeds: "the people that made this attempt, behaved to get somebody to do it: that, however *Jacobite* he might be in *principle*, was yet Latitudinarian enough in *conscience*, that he could swallow all the Oaths. The design being concerted, they found a tool: a poor curate of 15 *lib.* a year in Ireland, but born in Scotland, comes over to Edinburgh to mend his commons: and having taken the Oaths, he falls in with this party, who finding him a person of prostituted morals, a large stock in the face, and ready, if well paid, to do their work, they promise him *fourscore* pounds a year, and accordingly begin a subscription for it." He asserts, that the plea that it was used to accommodate the English strangers was not true. "The people," says he, "as every body knew they would, immediately took fire at the thing, but not doing him the honour to rabble him, *which*

seemed to be what his party expected, they complained to the magistrates."^x

The case was taken up by some of Greenshields's friends, or rather the friends of the Church in London, who, in the Preface to the published account, express a hope, that it may issue in putting the Scottish Episcopalians in possession of those blessings, which were enjoyed by all the rest of the nation. In that account it was stated that they only wished for liberty to worship God in that way which their consciences dictated.^y

From this account, and also from De Foe, we learn, that the General Assembly interposed. Some of the people of Edinburgh petitioned the Commission of the Assembly on the subject, in which they stated, that the English service "was very grievous and offensive" to them, and would prove "of dangerous consequence to the Church if not speedily remedied." Like the Presbyterians of a former age, the Petitioners pretend, that the Clergy, who preached in the Meeting Houses, were not only "*unsound in their judgments; but scandalous and immoral in their lives and practices.*" The Commission of Assembly soon passed an Act, in which it was alleged, that the Union was infringed by the use of "set forms, rites, and ceremonies:" and that such

^x De Foe's History of the Union of Great Britain. Fol. Edinburgh, 1709. Preface, pp. xix. xx.

^y The True State of the Case of the Reverend Mr. Greenshields, now Prisoner in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, for reading the Common Prayer in an Episcopal congregation there: though qualified by taking the Oaths, and praying for the Queen and the Princess Sophia, with copies of several Original Papers relating to his accusation, defence, imprisonment and appeal to the Lords of the Session, and since to the House of Lords. London, 8vo. 1710.

innovations were dangerous to their Church, and contrary to their confession, which declares, "that nothing is to be admitted in the worship of God, but what is prescribed in the Holy Scriptures." Yet how many things are practised in Presbyterian worship, which are not prescribed in the Sacred Volume. They then prohibited all such innovations ! They were of course at liberty to prescribe anything in their own Churches ; but it is difficult to understand how they could exercise jurisdiction over those, who did not belong to their Communion. The case was, therefore, referred to the Kirk judicatories. Thus a law was made, and then Greenshields was brought under its operation.

In consequence of this Act of Assembly, the Kirk Session presented Greenshields to the Presbytery, by whom he was examined respecting his orders ; for it seems that, having the case of England before their eyes, they were anxious to avoid the question of the Liturgy : or rather wished to punish him on other grounds. They therefore deposed him from the exercise of the ministry : and on his refusal to recognize their authority, they requested the magistrates to execute their sentence. At the call of the Presbytery, the magistrates, as he did not cease to officiate, committed him to the Tolbooth, in which prison he was lying when the case was published in London. Some few years before, the Presbyterians wrote and preached in favour of liberty of conscience, but now it was denied to a man who used the English Liturgy. He had taken the Oaths to her Majesty : and yet he was punished.

During the same year a Reply to the case of Greenshields was published in London, in which it was attempted to justify the Presbytery in their proceed-

ings. Like De Foe, the writer pretends that the individual was not imprisoned for reading the Liturgy: but for exercising his ministry without authority. He would not however have been disturbed but for the Liturgy. The author deprecates the depriving of the Church of Scotland of the power to call any preachers to account, whether Episcopalians or Presbyterians: adding, that this power was once possessed and ought to be continued. To prove the moderation of Presbytery, he subjoins a list of Episcopal Clergymen, who, at that time, occupied Churches and Manses. This privilege, however, was granted by the Parliament, not by the Scottish Church, which used all its exertions to prevent any such indulgence. “To show how little cause the Episcopal party in Scotland have to complain of the Presbyterians there for want of moderation, ’tis thought fit to add the following list, wherein those marked N. J. are Nonjurors, who don’t pray for the Queen.” There are one hundred and twelve names in the list, of which *ten* only are marked as Nonjurors. Then it is added, “besides a great many others, that preach in meeting houses, where some pray for the Pretender: others, who do not refuse to pray for the Queen: and some pray only for their Sovereign, without naming any body, but mean the Pretender.”^z

No one doubts that many Episcopal Clergymen retained their benefices: but no merit can be pleaded

^z Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled A True State of the Case of the Revd. Mr. Greenshields, &c. The notorious Falsehoods contained in it laid open; and the Proceedings against him in Scotland vindicated. With the Answers of the Magistrates of Edinburgh to his Bill of Suspension, &c. And a List of the Episcopal Ministers, who enjoy Churches and benefices in Scotland, without being obliged to conformity. 4to. London. 1710.

for the Scottish Church on this ground, since the permission was granted by the State, against her wishes. This writer, therefore, unwittingly adds his testimony to the fact, that Presbytery was not set up because the majority wished it, but as an act of political expediency.^a

So inveterate was the hatred of the Presbyterians to the English Liturgy, that they would not allow its use, in the case of English regiments stationed in Scotland. Mr. Chamberlayne, writing to Carstairs, himself an advocate for the use of the Liturgy, wherever it was wished, remarks: "The inclosed account of the great severity of your Church against chaplains of English regiments, for reading the Liturgy to their own people only, is so like the Inquisition, that it must needs raise an indignation in the minds of all good Christians." An English officer, writing from Edinburgh, says: "Though our chaplain was here, yet he was not suffered to preach: which is what we were never denied in the most rigid Roman Catholic countries."^b Carstairs was a man of too much sense and moderation to fall in with the rigid Presbyterians. These cases disprove the assertion, in the pamphlet against Greenshields, that he was

^a In some parts of Scotland the majority of the people avowed themselves Episcopalians, when the penal laws were removed, a circumstance quite in the teeth of the assertions so commonly made, that the population was altogether Presbyterian.

^b The hostility to the Liturgy was quite as strong as in the days of Charles the First, when Janet Geddes threw the stool at the Dean of Edinburgh. There was still the same desire to dictate to, or to interfere with, England. "They *pray* publickly for the *conversion* of *England* from their *superstition* and *idolatry*, meaning our *Episcopacy* and *Liturgy*: and hope once more to send their covenant for a text to us. Would we had their *zeal*, or they our *truth*." Sage's Vindication. Preface.

not imprisoned for reading the Liturgy. Alluding to the violence of some of the Presbyterians, the writer of the Life of Carstairs says, "he felt this in a variety of instances, during the course of those prosecutions which were carried on by his more rigid brethren, in different corners of Scotland, against some of the Episcopal Clergy, who, by virtue of the powers entrusted with Presbyteries, were, upon the most frivolous pretexts, turned out of their livings. But he felt it most of all in the case of Greenshields. Having in vain attempted to dissuade his brethren and the civil magistrate from so impolitic a step as that of stating themselves in downright opposition to the Church of England, at the bar of the House of Peers, he ventured to prognosticate that their severity in that instance would only open a door for other encroachments." He adds: "Accordingly it is well known that it was the proceedings in the affair of Greenshields which laid the foundation, as it afforded the fairest pretext for the Act of Toleration, and the Act restoring patronages, which in the circumstances of the country at that time were considered as preludes to the restoration of prelacy and the Pretender."^c

Yet De Foe laboured to prove that the refusal to permit the English Liturgy to be used was not an act of persecution. The House of Lords had not given their decision, at the period of his writing: or perhaps, as a professed advocate of liberty of conscience, he might not have adopted such an unreasonable course. He asserted that the attempt to introduce the Liturgy was "a political design to carry on a party interest among us in England, and embroil,

^c Carstairs, 79, 776, 782, 783.

if possible, the people of Scotland with the Government." Then he says: "After all, the Church of England have no reason to take it ill that the Scots do not make use of the Common Prayer, any more than the Scots have to take it ill, that the Church of England do not make use of the Presbyterian discipline." And again: "if any have reason, therefore, to take ill any thing from the other, the Church of Scotland has the first offence given her, by this attempt of invading her uniformity."^d

It appears difficult to comprehend the author's views of Toleration: for while he pleaded for the most perfect liberty of worship in England, he opposed the use of the Liturgy in Scotland. His disingenuousness, not to say dishonesty, is obvious in the preceding extracts. It was never attempted to force the Liturgy upon the Church of Scotland. All that was required was the liberty to use the Book of Common Prayer in Episcopal congregations. His parallel between the Liturgy and the Presbyterian discipline is unsustained: for any congregations, in England, separating from the Church, were at liberty to adopt the Presbyterian discipline, or any form which might suit their inclinations. The Episcopalians only required the same liberty in Scotland, without wishing to interfere with the national establishment: but this reasonable request was denied by the Presbyterians.

The matter was viewed very differently in the House of Lords. Writing to Wake, then Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop Nicolson says: "We believe that the Presbyterian Discipline, and Confession of Faith, are there established by law: and that the treaty of Union hath confirmed both those: but we know of no

^d De Foe's History of the Union. Preface xxviii. xxix. xxx.

Act of Uniformity which ratifies their peculiar way of worship. If the extemporary prayers of the Presbyterians are current on this side of the Tweed, why should not the Episcopal set forms be likewise received on the other." He then alludes to the objection, that it would inflame the Scots, and asks: "And what if it should? We, who live nearest them, have no astonishing apprehensions of the consequences of any heats that can happen on such an occasion. It would look somewhat oddly, that a moderator of a Northern Presbytery should have the liberty of worshipping God in his own way at Lincoln or Carlisle, and that you and I should be debarred the like indulgence at Edinburgh or Glasgow."^h The subject was noticed by Swift in the Examiner. "It is somewhat extraordinary," says he, "to see our Whigs and Fanatics keep such a stir about the sacred Act of Toleration, while their brethren will not allow a connivance in so near a neighbourhood: especially if what the gentleman insists on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons are Episcopal: of which one argument he offereth is the present choice of their representatives in both Houses, though opposed to the utmost by the preachings, threatenings, and anathemas of the Kirk.

^e Nicolson's Epistolary Correspondence, ii. 398, 399. Greenshields remained in prison until liberated by the decision of the House of Lords. Somerville, 469. Somerville remarks, "Though this sentence was agreeable to every principle of liberality and justice, yet it gave great offence to the Clergy and members of the establishment." Ibid. That the English Dissenters agreed with the Presbyterians is clear from their writers. They demanded a toleration for themselves: but denied it to others. Thus says one: "Three famous Incendiaries, Sacheverell in England, Higgins in Ireland, and Greenshields in Scotland, are punished only with preferments." Bennet's Memorial, 398.

If these be the principles of the *High-Kirk*, God preserve at least the southern parts from their tyranny.” Greenshields was liberated by the decision of the House.

Greenshields’s persecution was the fore-runner of that toleration, which at last became established in Scotland as in England. It led the friends of the Clergy to see that they were not safe under the Act of Comprehension. Though they were protected and exempted from the Church Courts, yet the Presbyteries were constantly claiming authority, and anxious to execute it. The case of Greenshields, therefore, brought the matter to an issue: for the English Parliament perceived, that the Clergy in Scotland were still at the mercy of the Presbyterians. Two measures were accordingly proposed in Parliament, the one an Act of Toleration: the other an Act for restoring Patronage to those who had formerly enjoyed it. Both measures were triumphantly carried through Parliament: though both were vehemently opposed by the Presbyterians. They could not tolerate the Liturgy. The Kirk therefore presented a petition against the measure, in which they deprecated the evils that would ensue. By the Toleration Act the Episcopal Clergy, who took the Oaths were permitted to use the English Liturgy without molestation. In the House of Commons the minority against the Bill only amounted to seventeen.^f It was specially enacted that no *pain or forfeiture* should be incurred “by reason of any excommunication by the Church Judicatory in Scotland.” Thus were the Presbyterians deprived of that tyrannical power, which, notwithstanding Acts of Parliament, they had fre-

^f Somerville, 469, 470. Tindal, ii. 243.

quently exercised.^s The Bill, though in favour of the Book of Common Prayer, was opposed by Burnet. It was carried in 1712.

From this period until the year 1716, the Episcopalians enjoyed the liberty of public worship. The toleration also removed the odium, under which the Scottish Kirk had been placed : and the Act for restoring patronage to the men of property, gave them an interest in the established Church, which they did not previously feel. Though, therefore, both measures were opposed by the Presbyterians, yet both tended to advance the interests of the Kirk.^h Still many mourned over the loss of that spiritual tyranny which they had formerly exercised. Another Act was passed, which provided for the discontinuance of the sittings of the Courts of Law at Christmas, as in England : and this also gave great offence to the Presbyterians. The benefits of the changes have been abundantly reaped by the Church of Scotland : but the rigid Presbyterians conceived that their Church was shorn of its chief glory—the power to persecute others. Accordingly one of her Advocates, alluding to the three Acts, thus closes his very partial and one-sided history. Speaking of what he calls the “*Church’s Grievances*,” he says : “The Acts are particularly,

1. The Act for restoring Patronages.
2. The Act for Tolerating Episcopal Ministers.

^s Life of Queen Anne, ii. 508—512. Swift’s Four Last Years, &c. 226—230. Boyer’s Life of Queen Anne, 543. There is great truth in the remark ; “the severest penalties ever inflicted in a Protestant country met with most submission,” from the Episcopal Clergy of Scotland. Keith, by Russell. Life, p. xxiii.

^h Swift’s Works, Scott’s Ed. vol. v. 141.

3. The Act for the *Yule* Vacancy : that is, for keeping *Christmas*.

“ If these three are obtained, the Church will then be restored to her full lustre and authority, and it’s hoped will never more have any occasion to complain of being oppressed.”ⁱ So these Acts, reasonable as they were, and beneficial as they have proved to be, were viewed as acts of oppression towards the Church of Scotland. Even De Foe, acute as he was in most matters, was in this totally blinded by his strong prejudices.

The author of the *Life of Carstairs*, writing in the year 1774, was fully sensible of the advantages which had accrued from the proceedings of this period. “ The experience of sixty years has at last evinced, what it was impossible for human sagacity then to discover, that the Act of Toleration and the Act restoring Patronages, which were considered by the friends of the Church of Scotland as fatal to her interests, and which were probably intended as the preludes to greater changes, have proved the source of her greatest security. Upon the one hand, the Act of Toleration, by taking the weapon of offence out of the hands of the Presbyterians, removed the chief ground of those resentments which the friends of Prelacy entertained against them, and, in a few years, almost annihilated Episcopacy in Scotland. Upon the other hand, the Act restoring Patronages, by restoring the nobility and gentlemen of property to their wonted influence in the settlement of the Clergy, reconciled numbers of them to the established Church, who had conceived the most violent prejudices

ⁱ De Foe’s *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*. Appendix.

against that mode of election, and against the Presbyterian Clergy, who were settled upon it. It is likewise an incontestable fact, that from the date of these two Acts, the Church of Scotland has enjoyed a state of tranquillity to which she was an utter stranger before.”^k

An unfavourable picture of the Episcopal Clergy is given to Archbishop Wake, in 1710, by Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, who states, that the greatest number of the Episcopalians were under the Bishop of Edinburgh, “who is entirely in the interest of the Pretender;” that he would not permit his Clergy to pray for the Queen, so that the prayers, when they were used, “were mangled and curtailed.” He affirms that these men were as great enemies to Green-shields, as the Assembly itself, adding, “they dread the ruin of their own party upon the prevalency of our Common Prayer.” According to Nicolson, there were one hundred and thirteen Episcopal Clergymen in possession of parishes, whereof eleven only were Nonjurors. He mentions also the singular circumstance, that the number of the old covenanted Presbyterians was four times as great, “who, (though they never pray for the Queen, nor have ever taken the Oath of Allegiance to her) are overlooked, and winked at, by the General Assembly.”¹ Bishop Nicolson, residing on the borders of Scotland, appears to have taken considerable interest in the affairs of the Episcopalians in that country, though it must be admitted that his judgment of their proceedings was unjust. It can scarcely be conceived, that any of the Clergy

^k Carstairs, 85.

¹ Ellis's Letters, First Series, i. 359.

were enemies to Greenshields, on account of the English Liturgy.^m

After the Toleration Act in 1712, the English Liturgy was extensively used by the Episcopalians in Scotland. The Church, says a writer, who well knew the circumstances, “was put in a much better condition than at any time since the Revolution: Meeting Houses were set up in several towns and villages, where both pastors and people manifested the greatest forwardness for embracing the English Liturgy, and it was brought into several parish Churches. Prayer Books were sent from England to supply the wants of the people. All this was in a great measure owing to the generous charity of many pious and well disposed persons of all ranks, of the Church of England, particularly of the famous University of Oxford, at whose charges and charitable contributions, without any brief to further it, above nineteen thousand Common Prayer Books, and other devotional edifying books relating to it, were remitted from London in the space of two years.”ⁿ The Presbyterians were annoyed and perplexed: they called

^m Archbishop Sharp formed a much more correct opinion on the sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy. When the Bishop of Edinburgh wrote to him on the subject, the Archbishop sent a letter directly to the Queen. He also “spoke earnestly to her Majesty about the Episcopal Clergy. He told her Majesty of the Judge Advocate’s circular letter for shutting up all the Episcopal Meeting Houses; in which letter he said he had orders from the Queen, under her hand and seal, to do this. The Queen said it was not so.” This was before Greenshields’s case occurred: and for some time, the Clergy were permitted to enjoy a little peace. The Archbishop also induced the Queen to make a grant of money to several of the Scottish Bishops. Life of Archbishop Sharp, i. 393—398.

ⁿ Representation of the State of the Church in North Britain, p. 19.

the Prayer Book the English mass : they designated it idolatrous and superstitious, alleging even that the Scottish Episcopacy was tolerable in comparison, because there was no Liturgy : but still they could not prevent its introduction.

The Clergy were quiet and peaceable. “ They have it for a principle not to disturb the peace of the kingdom they belong to : ” and “ though some of them could not comply with all the tests required by the Government, yet there cannot one instance be given of any Clergyman’s being prosecuted for tumultuous, seditious, and treasonable speeches and practices.”^o However the Presbyterians were anxious to commence a persecution against the Episcopal Clergy under the plea of sedition and treason : though Episcopacy and the Liturgy were the causes. Those who refused to take the Oaths were subjected to certain penalties ; but still, by the Act of Toleration, no person was permitted to interrupt their worship ; nor were the Presbyteries permitted to interfere. The Queen and her Government well knew that the Nonjurors were peaceable men : and therefore the Oaths were not exacted from them, though they were required by the Act. This was a wise policy, and well would it have been if the same course had been pursued from the beginning. But this state of things was soon changed. The Queen died in 1714 : the Whigs were restored to office : the laws against Papists and Nonjurors were ordered to be enforced : and the most lamentable consequences ensued. Had Queen Anne’s pacific course been followed, the Rebellion of 1715 might not have taken place.

^o Representation, &c. 21. Russell’s Keith, 507. Russell’s History of Church in Scotland, ii. 390, 391.

The Rebellion, however, was made the pretence for putting the laws in force against those who, though they had not taken the Oaths required by the Toleration Act, were yet living quietly and peaceably, without any wish to disturb the Government. The Liturgy, as we have seen, was generally used : and against this form of sound words the ire of the Presbyterians was now stirred up. Wherever the Government troops came, the Episcopal congregations were broken up and dispersed. At Aberdeen, the Liturgy had been used more than four years : but the congregations were scattered. An English gentleman, well affected to the Government, assembled some of the people ; but he was not permitted to read the Liturgy, though protected by the Act of Toleration. All the Chapels and houses where the Liturgy had been used were immediately closed : the Clergy were shamefully used : and the people were prevented from assembling for public worship. Nor did the Presbyterians rest content with closing the Chapels ; but even the Clergy, who had retained their Churches according to law, were imprisoned only because they were Episcopalians. For several years, therefore, the Clergy were subjected to persecutions of various kinds.^p

The Episcopal Clergy of Aberdeen indeed rendered themselves obnoxious by addressing the Pretender : but no other address was presented from any of the Clergy. They commence : “ We, your Majesty’s most faithful and dutiful subjects, &c.” The citizens of Aberdeen also copied the example of the Clergy.^q After the Rebellion was crushed, many

^p Representation of the State of the Church in North Britain, 25, 30.

^q Life of Argyle, 237, 240.

of the prisoners were confined at Carlisle. The Bishop was, as he states, frequently importuned by the friends of some of the unhappy men. Writing to Wake, he says: "Among the rest the Bishop of Edinburgh warmly recommends to my counsel, direction, and favour a son of his, who is one of our guests. He gives broad hints that his child suffers for righteousness sake." Nicolson remarks, that he had told the Bishop, whom he calls "A mischievous Prelate," that he would no more interfere in behalf of his son, than he would for his own in similar circumstances. The son of another Bishop was also implicated. Archbishop Wake procured a memorial in his favour: and the Bishop of Carlisle was anxious for his safety, as well as for that of the son of the Bishop of Edinburgh, remarking that both "were as duly trained up to revolt against King George by their respective parents, as ever Moss-trooper's children were bred to stealing." He wished to save them on the ground of their education, throwing the blame upon their parents. The judges, he says, were directed to be indulgent to sons, who were led by their fathers: "which I think brings them as fairly within this rule as if the two prelates had galloped before them into the battle."^r

The crimes alleged against the Clergy were "Praying for the Pretender, keeping fasts and thanksgivings, and not praying for King George in express terms."^s

^r Ellis's Letters, First Series, iii. 367—8, 395—6.

^s The Appeal of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland to the Lords in Parliament. Wherein the proceedings of the Presbyterian judicatures against Episcopal Ministers are proved to be contrary to the laws of the land, to express Acts of Parliament, to common Equity, and to former Precedents in the like Cases. 8vo. 1718. p. 29.

These charges were never proved; but in any case the Presbyteries had no jurisdiction in such matters. The fact, that they were permitted to tyrannize, shews the miserable state of things at this time in Scotland. The Clergy pleaded "that they are not at all subject to the jurisdiction of any of the Presbyterian judicatures: not being of their communion." In proof of this they refer to the Toleration Act.^t The charge of keeping fasts and thanksgivings rested on nothing more than the fact, that some of the Clergy observed the particular days appointed by the Church, on which occasions they preached against the errors of Rome, without any allusion to the Pretender.^u On such grounds did the Presbyterians interfere: though they had no jurisdiction. It is argued in the *Appeal*, " 'Tis against all reason that they should be subject to their jurisdiction, either as to their practice or opinion, doctrine or discipline, worship or sacraments. For their being permitted, tolerated, and protected, would be of no manner of use to them in that case. It is easy to imagine, if the Presbyterians were judges, what doctrine they would deem erroneous, what devotion they would look upon as superstitious, what worship they would censure as idolatrous, and what ordination they would esteem unlawful. For the appellants stand already condemned in all these matters by the acts of general assemblies. And are those to be the appellants' judges." They proceed: "They need not seek a repeal of the Toleration Act in Scotland, which is so grievous to them: if they may put what glosses they please upon it: if they can censure, depose, and incapacitate those who are entitled to the benefit thereof."^w The appellants argued that

^t The Appeal, &c. 38.

^u Ibid. 104.

^w Ibid. 45.

offences against the State were only cognizable by the State. This point was settled by the law : yet, in persecuting the Episcopal Clergy, the Presbyterians were permitted to violate the principles of law and of equity. Thus it is clear, not only that the Act securing Episcopal Clergymen in their benefices was violated, under the pretence of treason, after the Rebellion ; but also that the benefit of the Toleration Act was not for a long period extended to Episcopalians in Scotland, who were not permitted to use the Liturgy in private.

In 1719 an Act was passed “ For making more effectual the laws appointing the Oaths : ” but as several years had elapsed since the Rebellion, there was some relaxation in the persecutions, to which the Clergy had been subjected. By this Act an Episcopal Minister, performing divine service without taking the Oaths, was subjected to imprisonment ; but the Government had grown wiser, and it was not rigorously enforced : so that from a few years after this period until 1746 the Episcopal Church enjoyed much prosperity.*

But we must now turn to the divisions, which began to exist soon after this period among the Clergy

* Keith, by Russell, 509. In 1718 a collection was made in England for the suffering Clergy after an application attested by Campbell and Gadderer. In a note to *the Case of the Church of Scotland*, we have the following melancholy proof of Presbyterian violence. “ There are at present about an hundred and twenty Priests of the Church of Scotland, whose melancholy circumstances cry loudly, and plead more powerfully than can be expressed by words : and since the suppression of the chapels and meeting houses for the Service of the Liturgy, and some other desolating emergencies, the number of individual sufferers is growing daily greater, and God only seeth the end thereof : whose blessed will be done.” Somers’ Tracts, xii. 492.

themselves respecting the *usages*. We have seen, that the Scottish Bishops were divided in opinion, when Collier and Spinkes consulted them on the subject; but no decision was given on the question which had so agitated the Anglican Nonjurors. And though the section, adhering to Collier and Brett, adopted the New Communion Office; yet no such measure seems to have been contemplated for some years in Scotland. On the contrary, it is a well established fact, that the English Liturgy, in all its parts, was generally used in Scotland, without any hesitation, for several years subsequent to the disputes in England. For some time the Clergy had to contend with the Presbyterians, in favour of the English Liturgy.^y The old slander was revived, that the Prayer Book was the Mass Book in English: and one fanatical Preacher ventured to assert that the devils, who had previously been chained up, had broke loose since the introduction of the English Service Book.^z The *Citizen* of Aberdeen, however, after a general defence of the Liturgy against the cavils of the Presbyterians, admits his preference for the *First Communion Office*: from which we may infer, that he and others, who used the English Book, were inclined to the *Usages*, though they did not deem them matters of so much importance, as to break the unity of the Church in consequence. Skinner says, that the Scottish Office was not introduced at first on account of the scarcity of the Book of 1637, and the

^y See as a specimen: "An Apology for the Use of the English Liturgy and Worship against the Cavils and Exceptions of the Presbyterians in North Britain, &c. &c. By a Citizen of Aberdeen. 8vo. London 1718."

^z *Ibid.* p. 1, 2.

impossibility of procuring a reprint. He argues, therefore, that necessity led to the use of the English Form : but that, though introduced, yet the Clergy were not pledged to its adoption in all particulars, being at liberty to adopt any authorized form, or any one sanctioned by the Bishops.^a For some time the matter was allowed to sleep : but, after the death of the older Bishops, the question was revived. In the year 1712, the Earl of Winton reprinted the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 : yet it was used only in his own chapel at Tranent, and even then against the remonstrances of the Bishop of Edinburgh.^b As long as Bishop Rose survived, the use of the English Service alone was encouraged. He died in 1720 : and then the disputes were revived. In 1723 a sort of defence of the Scottish Communion Office was published. This service was nearly similar, in the points respecting the *Usages*, to the First Communion Office of King Edward. The author enters into some particulars respecting its history : from which it appears, that, after the reprint by the Earl of Winton, the Bishop, at length, consented to its use in his Lordship's Chapel. The various points of difference between it and the English Office are pointed out : and the writer claims for it a nearer affinity to the Ancient Liturgies and the primitive practice.^c

^a Skinner's Ecclesiastical History, ii. 627.

^b A Defence of the Communion Office of the Church of England, proving that there is neither reason nor authority for laying it aside. In a Letter, to a Friend. Preface xix. This letter was written by George Smith, one of the Nonjuring Bishops in England who agreed with Spinkes : but it was published in Edinburgh in 1744, with a Preface by another hand. The Preface contains an account of the Scottish and English Liturgies.

^c An Enquiry in the Decent and Beautiful Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, for the Use of the Church of Scot-

The differences of opinion among the Bishops were considerable. Lockhart, writing to the Pretender in 1722, alludes to the divisions among the English Nonjurors, and calls the breach a "prejudice and discredit to the whole party." "Of those," says he, "who sett up for alterations, two of our Scots Bishops, Campbell and Gatherer, made a considerable figure at London, where they have resided many years; and Falconer favoured them in Scotland. There have been several meetings of the Bishops, and all but Falconer and Gatherer are against all alterations or innovations. They think what is desired not so essential, as to be laid in the balance with the misconstructions their enemies will put upon them." He states, that the Bishops opposed to the Usages wished to know the opinion of the Pretender's trustees, who advised him on Scottish and English affairs. He also mentions that he attended a meeting, at which both parties endeavoured to justify themselves by the practice of the Fathers and the primitive ages. Lockhart recommended an agreement among themselves: stating, that he was instructed by the Pretender to give them that advice, and that they should not move until his pleasure were known. Falconer, it seems, yielded to the other Bishops; but, says Lockhart, Gadderer advanced his "usages, as he termed them, in the Northern Countries," against the advice of the Bishops and the Prince's trustees. It seems, from Lockhart's Letter of May 21, 1723, that the Bishops even thought of suspending Gadderer. He adds, that their enemies alleged, that the

land, and that conform to the Text of Sacred Scripture, and of Ancient and Modern Authors, in opposition to all Popish Superstitions. By a Gentleman of the Church of Scotland, 8vo. 1723.

Episcopal Clergy were advancing towards Rome, and that the Pretender's cause was thereby prejudiced. Other divisions also are mentioned by Lockhart. Archibald Campbell being elected Bishop of Aberdeen, the Bishops would not confirm him in his post, unless he pledged himself not to introduce the *Usages*. He, however, chose to consider himself as duly appointed, and sent Gadderer with a commission to act in his name.^d At length Gadderer submitted, perceiving that the Bishops were determined to act. He defended the practices: but the Bishops viewed them as matters of indifference, which were not to be introduced, especially as they supplied their enemies with arguments to their prejudice.^e

Thus the Scottish Clergy were as much divided in opinion respecting the *Usages* as the English. In the year 1728 a sensible Tract was published against their introduction. The author contends, that they are not of sufficient importance to justify the warmth of their advocates. He alludes to the unanimity which prevailed before the agitation of this question: and then enters upon an examination of the various points, which, though brief, is very comprehensive. He goes over the same ground as Campbell; but he concludes, that the Reformers acted wisely in rejecting the *Usages*.^f

^d Lockhart, ii. 98—104.

^e Lockhart, ii. 123—130.

^f The Antiquated Usages, which have made so great a noise amongst us, briefly examined, and found insufficient to justify the zealous endeavours of some persons to introduce them. Together with a humble and affectionate Address to all the Episcopal Communion in Scotland, to demean themselves agreeably to the melancholy condition of this afflicted Church. By One who hath her peace and welfare much at heart. Edinburgh, printed in the year 1728.

In consequence of the disputes, the Bishops assembled and agreed, that the use of the Scottish Office should be permitted to those who wished it: and they expressed their hope, that as the two offices were substantially the same, all disturbance might be prevented.[§] The calm, however, did not long continue; for the communion became broken into parties respecting the *Usages* and the appointment of Bishops. In 1731 a concordate was arranged, by which they agreed, "That we shall only make use of the Scottish or English Liturgies in the public divine service, nor shall we disturb the peace of the Church, by introducing into the public worship any of the ancient usages, concerning which there has been lately a difference amongst us, and that we shall censure any of our Clergy that shall act otherwise." They agreed also, that no one should be appointed a Bishop but with the consent of the majority of the other Bishops: that on the demise of a Bishop, the Presbyters should not elect another without a mandate from the Primus, acting with the consent of his brethren: and that the Primus, whose duty it should be to assemble and preside over the meetings of the Clergy, should be chosen by a majority. By the ancient *Usages*, they meant *Immersion in Baptism*, *Chrism in Confirmation*, and *Anointing the Sick*, with some other practices, which were not retained in the Scottish Book. In general by the *Usages* were understood the four practices, which have been so frequently noticed: but these were retained in the Scottish Office, which by this concordate was allowed. In this agreement, therefore, the additional cere-

[§] Skinner, ii. 633, 634. A Defence of the Communion Office, &c. Preface xx.

monies are comprehended in the term *usages*. Thus by the Concordate both offices were placed upon the same footing.^h Both were to be used at the option of the Clergy: but neither party was to introduce usages not contained in and enjoined by these offices. It seems, however, that some of the Clergy violated the compact, which led to the publication of Bishop Smith's Letter in 1744, in defence of the English Office.

It appears, that the Pretender was usually consulted in the appointment of the Scottish Bishops, of which various instances are related by Lockhart. Some contended, that the election by the Clergy was sufficient: while others argued, that the consent of the King, meaning the Son of James II. and the college of Bishops was necessary. This dispute continued several years: and Lockhart designates those who opposed the college, as factious Bishops, because they paid no respect to the King and their brethren.ⁱ We find, that on some occasions, the Pretender named the persons; but of course they had been previously suggested to him by his friends in Scotland. They looked forward to his restoration: and though they took no steps to effect it, they still wished to keep up the succession, in what was deemed the regular way.^k In 1726 the Pretender addressed a letter to the College of Bishops, in which, alluding to the infirmities of the Bishop of Edinburgh, he says, "I have found it necessary, by this letter, to desire and direct, that Bishop Cant, and failing of him by decease, or his being rendered incapable by infirmities, that Bishop Duncan should reside at Edinburgh

^h Skinner, ii. 647. Defence of the Communion Office. Preface.

ⁱ Lockhart, ii. 35—42, 237, 238, 323—330, 333—336.

^k Lockhart, ii. 77—81, 271, 272.

and preside amongst you, and take care of the affairs of the Church in my capital of Scotland, and diocese thereof, until I be able to determine myself in the choice of a person duly qualified and agreeable to my people, to be settled in a post of such consequence.¹” In another letter the Prince recommends Gillan for consecration: and in another he says: “When there shall be any vacancies in the College of Bishops, or when you shall think proper that others be added to your number, you give into my Trustees a list of such persons as you may think every way qualified for discharging the office of a Bishop in the Church, which my Trustees are to send to me, with their opinion upon it, that thereby I may be the better enabled to give the proper and necessary directions in that respect. And further, it is my will and pleasure, that no Bishop amongst you shall be appointed to have the care and inspection of any particular district, without my previous authority, and that when you think an appointment necessary, that you give me your opinion in writing to my Trustees, to be transmitted to me as above.^m”

Apart from the divisions amongst the Bishops and Clergy, the Nonjuring Church of Scotland was in a flourishing condition for several years previous to the

¹ Lockhart, ii. 289.

^m Lockhart, ii. 310, 311. In a little time the Bishops were appointed by the Clergy and Bishops without consulting the Pretender. Thus in 1790, Skinner remarks that the charge of being recommended by the Pretender applied only to the Bishops of a distant period, and not to the present, who had no connexion with him relative to the obtaining or exercising their Episcopal functions. The practice of applying to the exiled family prevailed only during a few years. Skinner's *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 191, 192.

troubles of 1745, and 1746.ⁿ It is remarked by Bishop Russell, that “the Scottish Bishops for twenty years after being umpires became parties,” in the disputes concerning the usages.^o Campbell resigned his post in Scotland in consequence of these practices, and resided in London. His work on “The Middle State,” is written on principles involved in the *usages*.^p We have seen, too, that other divisions existed respecting the appointment of Bishops. Still the Church was in a flourishing state when the Rebellion broke out. The Nonjurors, however, were not the only party from whose ranks the supporters of the Rebellion were drawn. Many who had taken the Oaths were also implicated : and many Presbyterians, as well as Nonjurors, enrolled themselves under the Pretender’s standard.^q Skinner observes, that whether their Church “was blameable or not, she was soon involved in the dismal consequences of it.” Meeting-houses were burnt down by the soldiers in the villages ; and in the towns they were shut up or demolished. The Clergy were obliged to live in concealment, being suspected. The laws were suspended for three months, and a military government established. An Act also was

ⁿ Keith, 509—512.

^o Keith, Preface, xxviii.

^p Keith, 530, 531, 532.

^q Skinner, ii. 662. I have already refuted the assertion that the people in 1688 were generally Presbyterians : but it may be added, that there were, in 1740, after all the sufferings to which they had been exposed, three hundred Episcopal Clergymen, in Scotland, with large and respectable congregations. This fact is cited by Bishop Walker, as a proof that the Episcopal Church could not have been so contrary to the inclinations of the people, as was represented. The Bishop remarks, that if Episcopal principles had not obtained a firm hold on the affections of the people, they could not have survived the restrictions imposed in 1716. Bishop Walker’s Charge, pp. 36, 37.

passed, by which every Episcopal Clergyman, exercising his functions without taking the Oaths, was subjected to imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second, to transportation. Every assemblage of five persons was deemed by the Act an Episcopal Meeting.^r Hitherto the laity had escaped : but in 1746 all persons frequenting such illegal meetings were commanded to give information, under a penalty of fine and imprisonment. In 1748, the Act was revised, when it was enacted, that none but English or Irish Letters of Orders should be deemed sufficient to qualify any minister for the exercise of his Office in Scotland. The injustice of this clause was so obvious, that it was opposed by all the English Bishops. Still it was carried. The Clergy could not perform divine service in any place except their own houses. For a time, therefore, the Clergy could only act in the most private manner ; but at length the Government began to relax in their vigilance, knowing that the Episcopalians were quiet and peaceable, though they did not take the Oaths. The Bishops, however, took care to continue the succession, appointing others as vacancies occurred.^s

^r Skinner, ii. 663—665. It is a curious fact, that, notwithstanding the hostility of the Presbyterians to the English Liturgy, several editions of the Book of Common Prayer were printed at Edinburgh by the King's Printer. They must have been used by the Episcopal congregations : but it is remarkable that the Presbyterian authorities did not interpose. The books are scarce, yet I have no less than four copies, all different editions, printed between the years 1719 and 1761,—one by Watson, 1719, another by the same, 1720, one by Basket, 1727, and another by Watkins, 1761. They are small editions, and beautifully printed.

^s Skinner, ii. 670, 671. The trials to which the Clergy were exposed are detailed with much minuteness in the Life of Skinner, the author of the Ecclesiastical History. "The writer of this memoir," says his biographer, "has often heard him tell, that on

Such was the state of things until the accession of George III. in 1760. From this time the Church of Scotland began to revive, a prospect of better days appearing. Ever since 1746 the members had only met privately: but now they ventured to make an attempt for an extension of privileges.[†] In 1765

coming home one evening, from performing an occasional office in the way of his duty, he found his house in the possession of a military party: some of them guarding the door with fixed bayonets, and others searching the several apartments, even the bedchamber where Mrs. Skinner was lying in of her fifth child. No lenity was to be looked for from such unfeeling visitors, who pillaged the house of every thing they could carry with them, hardly leaving a change of linen to father, mother, or child in the family. The chapel with all the furniture was destroyed, and for several years the congregation could find no place to meet in for public worship but the Clergyman's house." *Life of Skinner*, p. ix. *Prefixed to his Theological Works*. He was subsequently imprisoned for officiating as a clergyman to more than four persons besides his own family. *Life*, xi. xii. Bishop Russell states, that many clergymen officiated sixteen times on the same Sunday, in order to keep within the terms of the law. *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, ii. 405. It seems that the Clergy went from house to house to visit their people and perform the service of the Church. *Chambers's History of the Rebellion*, 295, 298. Chambers also mentions instances of suffering. On one occasion a clergyman was obliged to baptize a child under a tree to avoid discovery. vol. ii. 339, 40. The circumstance is recorded in the Register of the Episcopal Chapel of Muthill in Perthshire. It is under the date of the 20th of March 1750. N. B. "With such excessive severity were the penal laws executed at this time, that ANDREW MOIR, having neglected to keep his appointment with me at my own house this morning, and following me to LORD ROLLO's house of Duncrub, we could not take the child into a house, but I was obliged to go under the cover of the trees in one of Lord Rollo's parks to prevent our being discovered, and baptize the child there." *Bishop Walker's Charge*, &c. p. 38.

[†] Had the Oath of Abjuration been repealed on the accession of George III. no Jacobite would have existed. *Keith*, by *Russell*, 513.

the Communion Office was revised, the differences on the usages having long since ceased. The work was undertaken by the Bishops, and brought into its present state. From this period, it has been the practice to use the English Liturgy, with the exception of the Communion Office. As the Scottish Episcopalians generally preferred the Office of King Edward's First Book, or that of the Book of 1637, they framed their service after the model contained in these two Books, rather than after that which is adopted by the Church of England. In all other respects the uniformity between the two Churches is complete. Some persons have charged the Scottish Office with Popery: but better judges than any of those, who have, within the last few years, deserted the Communion of the Church of Scotland, have pronounced it a truly sound and primitive Form. Bishop Horsley in 1806, a man whom no one can charge with Popery, writes thus respecting the Scottish Office: "with respect to the comparative merits of the two offices for England and Scotland, I have no scruple in declaring to you, that I think the Scotch Office more conformable to the primitive models, and in my private judgment more edifying than that which we now use: insomuch, that were I at liberty to follow my own private judgment, I would myself use the Scotch Office in preference. The alterations which were made in the communion service, as it stood in the first Book of Edward VI. to humour the Calvinists, were, in my opinion, much for the worse: nevertheless, I think our present office is very good."^u This testimony is more than sufficient to counterba-

^u Skinner's Office for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, according to the Use of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. 8vo. Aberdeen. 1807, p. 157.

lance the assertions of certain persons in the present day, who have scarcely examined the subject, or, if they do examine it, are incompetent, from the strong influence of prejudice, to form a correct opinion.^w

But though, after the accession of George III. their condition was improved, no legislative interference was yet brought to bear upon their case. The laws still remained in force. But in 1784 the Episcopal Clergy in America applied to the Scottish Prelates to consecrate one of their number a Bishop. Dr. Seabury, the Clergyman selected by the American Church, had applied to the Anglican Bishops; but, in consequence of a difficulty respecting the Oaths, he was advised to seek consecration in Scotland. The Scottish Bishops, anxious to proceed in such a manner as not to offend the Government, consulted Archbishop Moore, who assured them, that the act would really be appreciated in England. Accordingly the consecration took place: and the Scottish Bishops were the instruments of preserving Episcopacy in the United States.^x

Four years later, in 1788, Charles Edward Stuart,

^w The gracious intentions of his Majesty were not agreeable to some fanatical Clergymen of the English Church. Accordingly, in 1767, Norman Sieveright, an English clergyman, published a sort of Caution against the Scottish Church. This gentleman was located in Scotland, and appears to have acted on principles similar to those by which Sir William Dunbar and Mr. Drummond are at present influenced. He called himself the minister of an Episcopal congregation at Brechin: but Skinner asks, "What is an Episcopal congregation? The old notion, (whether right or wrong) was a congregation under a Bishop. If so, tell us, what Bishop your Brechin congregation is under: and who *authorized* this Episcopal congregation." Sieveright's attempt exposed him to the contempt of sensible men. Skinner's Life, xxi.—xxvii.

^x Skinner's Ecc. Hist. ii. 683—687. Keith, 513—16.

the Pretender, the grandson of James II. died without issue. This, as it related to the Scottish Church, was an important event, since it removed the only obstacle to the full recognition of the English Sovereign. On the 24th of April, the Bishops met at Aberdeen, and, with the concurrence of the Clergy, resolved to submit to the Government as vested in the person of George III. On the 18th day of May, the Clergy, in all their congregations, gave public notice, that on the following Sunday, the name of King George would be introduced in the Public Liturgy.^y

The following notice was agreed upon by the Scottish Bishops, and published in the Chapels.

Intimation to the Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

“The Protestant Bishops in Scotland, having met at Aberdeen, on the 24th of April, 1788, to take into their serious consideration the state of the Church under their inspection, did, upon mature deliberation with their Clergy, unanimously agree to comply with and submit to the present Government of this kingdom as vested in the person of his Majesty King George III. They also resolve to testify this compliance, by uniformly praying for him by name in their public worship, in hopes of removing all suspicion of disaffection, and of obtaining relief from those penal laws, under which this Church has so long suffered. At the same time, they think it their duty to declare; that this resolution proceeds from principles purely Ecclesiastical: and that they are moved to it by the

^y Skinner's History, ii. 688, 689. Every Clergyman complied except the Rev. James Brown, of Montrose. Skinner's Annals, 78.

justest and most satisfying reasons, in discharge of that high trust devolved upon them in their Episcopal character: and to promote, as far as they can, the peace and prosperity of that portion of the Christian Church committed to their charge.

“For obtaining of this desirable end, they therefore appoint their Clergy to make public notification to their congregations upon the 18th day of May next, that upon the following Lord’s day, nominal Prayers for the King are to be authoritatively introduced, and afterwards to continue in the religious assemblies of this Episcopal Church: and they beg leave to recommend, as to their Clergy, whose obedience they expect, so likewise to all good Christian people, under their Episcopal care, and do earnestly intreat and exhort them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that they will all cordially receive this determination of their Spiritual Fathers.”

This Document was subscribed by

Robert Kilgour, Bishop and Primus.

John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen.

Andrew Macfarlane, Bishop of Ross and Moray.

William Abernethy Drummond, Bishop of Edinburgh.

John Strachan, Bishop of Brechin.²

At this time, therefore, the Church of Scotland ceased to be a Nonjuring Church. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the Pretender should have died just one hundred years after the Revolution; and that the Nonjuring schism should have lasted just a century.^a

² Gents. Mag. lviii. 401.

^a It seems that Brown afterwards formed a party, who com-

My narrative might here be closed, since the Scottish Bishops and Clergy were no longer Nonjurors : but as several years elapsed before they were put in possession of the rights and privileges of all other British subjects, I shall subjoin a few notices of this primitive Church, until the penal enactments were removed by legislative interposition. At this time they were not molested in their worship, because the Government would not permit any such violation of the principles of justice : but still the penal laws of 1746 and 1748 remained unrepealed.

The determination of the Bishops was approved and commended by his Majesty, King George III. : and a communication to that effect was made by one of the Secretaries of State. The King expressed his satisfaction at the proof of their attachment, which they had given. The Bishops were also assured, that the penal statutes would be repealed. In 1789, three of the Bishops proceeded to London, just at the time of the King's recovery from a severe illness. A Bill for their relief was brought into the Commons, and passed without any opposition. Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Mellville, though a Presbyterian, bore his most unqualified testimony in favour of the Scottish Episcopalians : stating, that as they had submitted to poverty and distress for one hundred years, from a conscientious, though mistaken,

plained of what the Bishops had done. Brown, moreover, made an attempt to continue the succession through himself. He went to Bishop Rose, then in a state of imbecility, and, it is said, caused him to perform the office of consecration. When the aged Prelate was questioned on the subject, he replied in the simplicity of childhood, " My sister may have done it, but not I." The disaffected were removed in a few years by death ; and the disaffection ceased. Skinner's Annals, 83.

adherence to what they conceived to be their duty, they would now, since they could transfer their allegiance to the Sovereign, become some of the most faithful subjects of his Majesty. In the Lords, however, the Bill was opposed by Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor.

As the chief men among the Presbyterians were friendly to the measure, it seemed strange, that it should meet with opposition from English Churchmen.^b An account of the whole proceedings was left in MS. by Bishop Skinner, which was afterwards published by his son in the *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*. The Bishops, in an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stated, that the penal laws were only intended to repress the political disaffection ascribed to the Clergy and lay-members of the Episcopal Church, and they only asked to be placed on the same footing, as to toleration, with English Dissenters. They expressed their approval of the English Liturgy: and added, that, though they used generally the Scottish Office, the Clergy had a discretionary power to adopt either, and that some actually did use the English Form. The Archbishop, Horsley, Bishop of St. David's, and indeed most of the Anglican Prelates, maintained a friendly intercourse with their Scottish brethren, during their stay in London. A case was drawn up, in which the penal laws were enumerated, and the compliance with the acts in praying for the King and Royal Family was specified.^c The Bishops also addressed Thurlow, having been apprised of his dislike of the measure before Parliament. In a second letter to his Lordship, they confess the political scruples, which

^b Skinner's *Annals*, pp. 94, 176.

^c *Ibid.* pp. 95, 99, 109.

had so long prevented them from testifying their allegiance to the Government; but they add, that as soon as the cause of their disaffection was removed, they recognized his Majesty's authority. Thurlow had alluded to the Oath of Abjuration, which, as being retrospective, they admitted they could not take, without involving themselves in perjury, since no person could take it, who had ever recognized the rights which it disclaimed. In July, the Bishops returned to Scotland; Thurlow's opposition was successful: and the bill was lost.^d

The next year, Lord Gardenston, one of the Scotch judges, and a Presbyterian, addressed Lord Thurlow on the subject. "Though bred a Presbyterian," he says, "I have ever revered the order and decency of the Episcopal Church. In doctrine they are soundly protestant. Their principles in regard to Government are now reformed, and not less loyal than ours." This was unsolicited and unsuspected testimony; still it was deemed desirable to delay the prosecution of the measure for the present. In the mean time the *Case of the Episcopal Clergy* was reprinted and circulated. The subject was again submitted to Parliament in 1791, when Thurlow said, that he should not oppose the principle, but that he wished to make some observations on the Bill. He unhesitatingly, however, condemned the Statutes of Queen Anne and George II. as unnecessarily severe, though he was still anxious for some restrictions. The Bishop of St. David's spoke strongly in favour of the measure: and in reply to Thurlow's notion, that Clergy of English Ordination might meet the case, he expressed himself in language, which some persons in the

^d Skinner's Annals, pp. 114, 122.

present day would do well to consider. "The credit of Episcopacy will never be advanced by the scheme of supplying the Episcopalian congregations in Scotland with Pastors of our ordination: and for this reason, that it would be an imperfect crippled Episcopacy that would be thus upheld in Scotland. When a Clergyman ordained by one of us settles as a pastor of a congregation in Scotland, he is out of the reach of our authority. We have no authority there: we can have no authority there: the legislature can give us no authority there. The attempt to introduce any thing of an authorized Political Episcopacy in Scotland would be a direct infringement of the Union. As to the notion, that Clergymen should be originally ordained by us to the ministry in Scotland, the thing would be contrary to all rule and order. No Bishop, who knows what he does, ordains without a title, and a title must be a nomination to something in the diocese of the Bishop that ordains. An appointment to an Episcopal congregation in Scotland is no more a title to me, or any Bishop of the Irish Bench, than an appointment to a Church in Mesopotamia."^e

Lord Thurlow was content, with subscription to the xxxix Articles, on the part of the Scottish Clergy, as a test of their principles. This was agreed to on the part of the Bishops: and a Bill for the relief of the Scottish Episcopalians received the Royal assent on the 15th of June, 1792. This Bill repealed the clauses of the Acts of Queen Anne, George I. and George II. by which any penalties were imposed. It then provides, that the Clergy should take the usual Oaths, subscribe a declara-

^e Skinner's Annals; pp. 210, 211.

tion of assent to the xxxix Articles, and pray for the King and Royal Family, as directed in the Liturgy of the Church of England. By the same Bill, however, it was enacted, that no clergyman should be permitted to officiate in England, except he had been ordained by some Bishop of the Church of England or Ireland.^f This restriction is now removed, and any Scottish Clergyman is permitted to officiate in England, under a License from the Archbishops or Bishops in their respective dioceses. In 1804 it was agreed that the xxxix Articles should be adopted as the standard of the religious principles of the Church of Scotland: so that, from this time all candidates for Holy Orders were required to make the same subscription as in England.^g All the right-minded clergymen of English ordination, who had been officiating in Scotland, gave in their adhesion to the Scottish Bishops. The plea of necessity no longer existed: and they were glad to give evidence of the soundness of their principles as Churchmen. Some clergymen there were, who, like the present schismatics in Scotland, continued in a state of separation: but their refusal arose, not from the love, but from the dislike of Episcopacy, since they could scarcely be deemed Episcopalian, when they were under no subjection to Bishops. The use of a portion of the Liturgy does not constitute a man or congregation Episcopalian: otherwise the Wesleyan methodists and Lady Huntingdon's party are such. Horsley expressed his opinion pointedly and strongly to a gentleman, who published a pamphlet in favour of the separation, which he sent to the Bishop: and his remarks are

^f Skinner's Annals, pp. 220, 229. ^g Ibid. pp. 349, 358, 361.

applicable to the state of things in some parts of Scotland at present. The Bishop says, "It has long been my opinion, and very well known, I believe, to be my opinion, that the laity in Scotland of the Episcopal persuasion, if they understand the genuine principles of Episcopacy which they profess, ought, in the present state of things, to resort to the ministry of their indigenious pastors. And the clergymen, of English or of Irish Ordination, exercising their functions in Scotland without uniting with the Scottish Bishops, are, in my judgment, doing nothing better than keeping alive a schism."^b

Little more remains for me to add on the subject of the Scottish Church. During a long time the Church of Scotland had no Liturgy, for that of 1637 was never generally adopted. Nor was the English service introduced, until the reign of Queen Anne : and even then its use was left to the discretion of the Clergy. The disputes respecting the usages have been detailed, as well as the particulars relative to the English and Scottish Offices for the Holy Communion. For many years, the Office framed after the model of King Edward's First Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of 1637, was used indifferently with the Anglican Form : but occasionally objections were raised against the former, by persons in England. This was especially the case during the debates in Parliament, respecting the removal of the penal laws. The objection, however, was most unreasonable. "The Episcopal Church in Scotland having adopted the same articles of religion with the united Church of England and Ireland, one would have thought, that even the suspicion of a difference,

^b Skinner's Annals, p. 391.

in the principles of the two Churches, would have been for ever laid to sleep. But, no! the Scottish Communion Office is adduced as an instance of a difference even now subsisting.”ⁱ The writer challenges any one to produce a passage which does not accord with the standard of faith in the purest ages. “Here is nothing introduced without unexceptionable warrant: nothing of late beginning: here is no application to saints or angels: no worshipping of images: no praying of the dead out of purgatory: here is no adoration of the consecrated elements, nothing that supposed a *corporal* presence, either by way of *Transubstantiation*, *Consubstantiation*, or of *Infusion*! In short, here is nothing set down as contended for, or as practised, but what is strictly scriptural and strictly Primitive.”^k The Church of Scotland, though agreeing in principles and doctrines with the Anglican Church, was at perfect liberty, according to our xxxivth Article, to deviate from us in rites and ceremonies, without being exposed to the charge of dissenting from us in principle.

In other respects, the Scottish Clergy adhered for a long time to the English Liturgy, except in some slight rubrical injunctions; but even this variation was found to be inconvenient, since different Clergymen adopted a different practice. The evil was forcibly pointed out by Bishop Gleig in a letter to Bishop Skinner in 1816. “As every man in my diocese,” says he, “varied the form according to his own judgment and caprice, I found that I could not officiate

ⁱ The Office for the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, or Holy Communion, according to the use of the Church of Scotland, &c. By the Rev. John Skinner, A.M. 8vo. Aberdeen 1807.

^k Skinner’s Preface, p. 7.

for some of my own Clergy, without either shewing the people that he and I think differently of our forms of prayer, or taking a lesson from him how to read before going in the morning into the chapel.”^k The year after this letter was written, the Scottish Bishops and Clergy met in Synod, when they drew up a body of Canons for the regulation of their Church. In one of them the Scottish Communion Office is considered as the authorized service: but permission is granted to use the Anglican Form in all congregations where it had previously been adopted. By another Canon it was decided, that no alterations or insertions should be permitted in the Daily Service, and that a strict adherence to the English Liturgy should be enforced upon all the Clergy. This decision was made known to the Archbishops and Bishops of the united Church of England and Ireland.¹ At the present time, therefore, the Articles, and the Liturgy of the Church of England, with the exception of the Communion Office, are adopted in Scotland: so that no difference exists between the two Churches.

It must then be a source of deep regret to all, who are anxious to promote the unity of the Church of Christ, that some persons in Scotland and England should endeavour to introduce discord, in consequence of the simple fact, that the Scottish Communion Office agrees rather with the First Book of King Edward, than with the Form now used in the Anglican Church. That these individuals can desire the peace and prosperity of the Church we cannot by any means believe: since their conduct contradicts any professions which they may make. Dis-

^k Skinner's Annals, p. 491.

¹ Ibid. p. 516, 517.

turburs of the peace of the Church will always be found within her communion: and it would be strange if the Church of Scotland should escape. These gentlemen certainly do not agree with the excellent Bishop Horne, who thought so well of the Church of Scotland and her primitive Episcopacy, that he expressed it as his opinion, that were the great Apostle of the Gentiles on Earth, he would probably unite himself to the Scottish Episcopalians, in preference to any other body, and "as most like to the people he had been used to."^m To me it appears very evident, that the persons, whether in Scotland or in England, who are against a union with the Scottish Church, are either profoundly ignorant of the principles of Episcopacy, or in reality hostile to Episcopal government in the Church. Supposing the latter alternative to be correct, it would be far more consistent to unite with the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland.

It is utterly impossible for a man, who really maintains the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, to act as those gentlemen have done who have withdrawn from their allegiance to the Scottish Bishops. They are quite as much seceders from the Church of England, as if they had set up separate congregations in this country. The pretence of being subject to English Bishops is paltry and evasive, because no English Prelate can exercise any jurisdiction in Scotland, while no man can be an Episcopalian, whatever may be his profession, who is not subject in his ministrations to some Bishop. "No maxim," says Bishop Sandford, "is more undisputed among Episcopalians, than this, that without connex-

^m Jones's Life of Bishop Horne, p. 151.

ion with a Bishop there is no Church." He adds, also, " to this Communion, it appears to me, that all Protestant Episcopalians residing in Scotland, are bound, by their profession as Episcopalians, to belong: for otherwise, neither they, nor the Clergy, who officiate in their Chapels, will find it easy to say of what Church they are really members. While they reside in Scotland, they neither are, nor can be, strictly speaking, members of the Church of England. The Bishops of the Church of England have no authority in Scotland, and never lay claim to such authority."ⁿ The Bishop naturally and justly adds, " Those who profess Episcopalian principles in this country, Clergy as well as laity, must be content, while they reside here, to consider and conduct themselves as members of the Scottish Episcopal Church, or they can scarcely lay claim to the title of Episcopalians."^o Let the Clergy, who act in defiance of the Scottish Bishops, proceed, if they please, to preach in their Chapels: but let them be honest and not adopt the miserable subterfuge or evasion, that they are still Episcopalians, since every officiating minister in an Episcopal Church must of necessity be subject to some one Bishop. There was, it seems, a pretence, that such Clergymen were subject to the

ⁿ Remains of the late Right Reverend Daniel Sandford, D. D. Oxon. Bishop of Edinburgh, in the Scottish Episcopal Church, &c. In two volumes, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1830. vol. ii. pp. 332, 333. Bishop Sandford further remarks, " Let them say to which of the dioceses of England they belong, and to which of the English Prelates they owe Ecclesiastical submission." He asks, " how can those be esteemed members of the Church of England, who do not dwell within the bounds of that Church: who *do not* and *can not* acknowledge the authority of her Prelates: and who attend the ministration of Clergy who *neither have, nor can have*, the license of any of those Prelates to discharge their clerical office?"

^o Ibid.

Bishop of London ; but this evasion is wrested from their hands by his Lordship's disclaimer of all jurisdiction in Scotland. Surely they cannot pretend to be under his Lordship's control, when he disclaims any authority in that country. If then they choose to call themselves Episcopalians, they must be schismatics, inasmuch as they are separated from the Bishop, who is necessarily the centre of unity in an Episcopal Church, and without whom there can be no such thing as an Episcopalian. Whatever, therefore, may be said of such men in England or in Scotland ; though their piety may be spoken of as exemplary, and their conduct may be regarded as praiseworthy, by Dissenters and Churchmen whose principles differ not from those of Dissenters ; though they may be men of irreproachable morals, and amiable in all the relations of life : there is still a blot upon their character—a blot which is an evidence of weakness or dishonesty, namely, that they profess to be Episcopalians, while they reject all Episcopal authority, and mark out a line for themselves, which, by the principles of Episcopacy, devolves upon the diocesan, under whose jurisdiction their lot, in the Providence of God, may be cast. To withdraw from allegiance to the Scottish Bishops, under the pretence of being in some way under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of the Church of England, is only adding duplicity to dishonesty.^p It would be

^p “ The officiating Clergy in Scotland ” says Archdeacon Daubeny, “ who make their supposed connexion with the Church of England a plea for their separation from the Church of Scotland, act in direct defiance of that principle, by which the constitution of the Church is maintained : for they are living in a state of exemption from all Ecclesiastical government whatever. The conduct of the Clergy, who set up this pretended connexion with the

far more consistent to acknowledge themselves to be separatists, or even to become Presbyterians, since their principle of acting for themselves, without regard to a Bishop, is Presbyterian rather than Episcopal.

It should be mentioned, that the introduction of English Clergymen into Scotland, to act independently of the Scottish Bishops, arose from a state of things, which does not now exist. There were necessarily some English Episcopalians in that country: some also who held official posts: and they thought, that they could not safely or consistently attend the ministrations of the Nonjuring Clergy. To meet their case, certain Clergymen were sent from England. But as the cause no longer exists for such an irregularity, the practice ought to cease. Such Clergymen in Scotland, as refuse to submit to the Bishops, are in reality the same as the Preachers among the Independents in England, some of whom adopt the English Liturgy.

The reader will perceive, that a great many events are crowded together in this chapter. It could not be otherwise, as a sketch of the Scottish Church was necessary to complete my plan; and a larger space could not be devoted to the subject. I hope, however, that the sketch, brief as it is, will be found to embrace all the particulars connected with the Scottish Episcopalians as Nonjurors: and I trust, that the perusal of it may not be without instruction. Unless

Church of England, as the plea for their non-union with the Church of Scotland, not only, so far as they are concerned, annihilates Ecclesiastical government, but directly militates at the same time against the essence of Ecclesiastical unity." A Layman's account of his Faith and Practice, as a member of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, published with the approbation of the Bishops of that Church. 12mo. Edinburgh, p. 177.

I am greatly mistaken, I have proved, that many circumstances combined together to favour the setting up of Presbytery at the Revolution, and that the *vote* of the Convention, that Episcopacy was contrary to the inclinations of the people, was directly the reverse of the truth. It has been seen, that the Convention, which consisted of a small number of Presbyterians, the Episcopal party having either refused to act, or been driven away by the mob, was continued many years, the ruling party being fearful of trusting to another election. Even as late as the year 1701, a Challenge was put forth by Bishop Sage in the following words. "If the objection be the *inclinations* of the people, and that they will not have it otherwise, the *Episcopal* party, there, desire that this may be put to the test, by letting the *immediate* sense of the *nation* be known in a *free election* of their *representatives* in *Parliament*, which they have not had since this *revolution*. And though many and pressing instances have been made for a *free election* in that *country*, as has been granted to *England*, yet can it not be obtained. The *Presbyterian* party have interest to render all these attempts ineffectual. Well knowing, at least fearing, that a *free Parliament* there would shew the inclinations of the *people* to be far otherwise than they have represented them."^a Whatever was the cause, the fact is indisputable, that the Convention Parliament was continued for many years: nor can there be much room to doubt, that their fears of the people prevented the Presbyterian rulers from resorting to a new election.

^a Sage's Vindication of a Discourse entitled the Principles of the Cyprianic Age, &c. 4to. London, 1701, preface.



CHAPTER XI.

OFFICES OF NONJURORS.—COMMUNION OFFICE.—DEACON'S COLLECTION.—ITS DEPARTURES FROM THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEPARATISTS AND THE REGULAR BODY.—REFLECTIONS.—NEGLECT OF CERTAIN RUBRICS TRACED TO THE LATITUDINARIAN SPIRIT AT THE REVOLUTION, AND TO THE PRACTICES OF THE NONJURORS.—THE RUBRICS CONSIDERED.—OBEDIENCE IN GENERAL.—LESSONS.—MUTILATIONS.—OMISSIONS.—NEGLECTED RUBRICS.—SURPLICE.—PRAYER FOR CHURCH MILITANT.—OFFERTORY.—CONDUCT OF THE OBJECTORS TO THE RUBRICS.—CONCLUSION.



THE principles on which the Nonjurors separated from the National Church, as well as of their internal divisions, an account has been given in the previous chapters: but some further particulars, relative to the Offices used by the two sections, after the second separation in 1733, or 1734, are necessary to complete the history of the body. From a preceding page, it will be seen, that Hickes usually administered the Lord's Supper according to the Form in King Edward's first Liturgy: but this practice was by no means common until the discussions arose respecting the *Usages*, the Nonjurors previously adhering to the Book of Common Prayer, in all its Offices, rejecting only the name of the reigning Sovereign. This is particularly mentioned by Bennet in 1716; so that the majority did not follow the example of Hickes. After the new Communion Office had been adopted by one section in

1718, the Book of Common Prayer was still used by the other : and even those, who received the new Office, still adhered to the Liturgy of the National Church in all other particulars. Subsequent to 1733, however, a considerable change took place. All the Nonjurors, with the very few exceptions previously specified, had then adopted the new Communion Office, or at all events the *Usages* : but in 1734 the parties, who separated from their brethren, and whom, for the sake of precision, I have denominated *Separatists*, departed altogether from the Liturgy of the Church of England, and adopted a new Book of Common Prayer. In Scotland, the English Book, with the exception of the Office for the Communion, was received by the Nonjurors : and, when they ceased to be a Nonjuring Church, the Prayer Book was retained as a matter of course, and is continued at the present time. I proceed, therefore, to give some account of the *Communion Office*, adopted by the regular body, and also of the Book which was introduced into public worship among the *Separatists*.

The new Communion Office is founded on that of King Edward's *First Book*, A. D. 1549, in which the particular practices, comprehended under the general term *Usages*, were retained. Not a few of our most eminent theologians, at various periods, have expressed their preference of the Communion Office in the *First Book* of Common Prayer, though they considered our present form as sufficient. This circumstance, therefore, should certainly make us cautious, in condemning the Nonjurors, or our Scottish brethren, for adopting that form, which, though rejected by our own reformers at the revision of the Prayer Book in 1551, was rejected in consequence of the scruples of some of the foreign reformers, for the sake of preserving peace and union. The four par-

particulars, which have been specified in a previous chapter, and which are known as the *Usages*, were as a matter of course retained in the New Book. In the structure of the Office, the form of 1549 is followed, rather than that in our present Liturgy, though even the former is not regarded in every particular. The *Usages* were four, namely, *mixing water with the wine*,^a *Prayer for the Dead*,^b *the Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Elements*,^c and *the Oblatory Prayer*.^d They were not however placed in precisely the same order in which they stood in King Edward's First Book. By this new form, therefore, the Holy Communion was celebrated by Collier's party, after the year 1718, and by all the regular body, subsequent to the union in 1733, until they became extinct.

Appended to the Office for the Communion were

^a The Rubric in the New Office orders: "And putting into the Chalice, or else into some fair and convenient cup, &c, putting thereto in the view of the people a little pure and clean water."

^b The Prayer is restored as follows: "We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all thy servants, who are departed with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace: and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they, who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may all together be set on his right hand."

^c The restored Prayer stands thus: "And send down thine Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, upon this Sacrifice, that he may make this bread the body of thy Son, and this cup the blood of thy Son."

^d In the New Office there are two passages, which though not precisely similar to the clauses which Collier and his supporters wished to be restored from King Edward's First Book, are the same in effect. One in the name of the Ministers is as follows: "That we may be worthy to offer unto thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice for our sins and the sins of the people. Receive it, O God, as a sweet smelling savour, &c. And as thou didst accept this worship and service from thy Holy Apostles: so of thy

two others, for *Confirmation* and *the Visitation of the Sick*. Both these vary in some respects from our present Offices. The *Chrism* or *Ointment* is retained in the *Office for Confirmation*, together with the sign of the Cross. There is also a *Form for Consecrating the Chrism*.^e It is stated in one of the *Rubrics*, that the matter of the Chrism is sweet oil of olives and precious Balsam, commonly called Balm of Gilead. In the *Office for the Visitation of the Sick*, the Priest is directed to place his hand on the head of the sick person, while he pronounces the absolution. The anointing with oil is also enjoined; and a form for administering the Holy Communion to the sick person is appended.^f

These are the chief peculiarities of the new *Communion Office*. But it is necessary to remark, that whenever I have spoken of this Office, the forms for *Confirmation* and *the Visitation of the Sick* are to be understood as comprehended in the Designation, the name by which the Book is usually known.

goodness, O Lord, vouchsafe to receive these offerings from the hands of us sinners, &c.” The prayer from which this is taken is called *A Prayer of Acceptance*, and is abridged from the Liturgy of St. Basil. The other stands thus: “We offer to thee, according to his Holy institution, this bread and this cup, &c. and we beseech thee to look favourably on these thy gifts, which are here set before thee, O thou self-sufficient God: and do thou accept them to the honour of thy Christ.”

^e “He shall anoint every one, &c. with the Chrism or ointment, making the sign of the cross upon their forehead, and saying:

N. I sign thee with the sign of the cross, I anoint thee with Holy Ointment.”

In the *Rubric* for the consecration of the Chrism, the Bishop is directed to “take some Chrism or Ointment: and putting it into a decent vessel, he shall stand and consecrate it in manner and form following.”

^f “Then shall the Priest anoint the sick person upon the forehead, making the sign of the cross and saying.”

Deacon's book was adopted by the *Separatists*: and an examination of its various Offices will shew how widely this party differed from their Nonjuring brethren, as well as from the Anglican Church. Deacon, though a man of considerable learning, was evidently fond of novelties. As the leader of the party he published in 1734, a collection of Devotions, to be used in their religious services. From this Book, the singular title of which was given in a previous chapter, the prayers used at the execution of the author's son, after the Rebellion in 1745, were taken. It was called their Book of Common Prayer.^g

Besides this book, he published another very singular work, of which I have already given some account, *A Full, True, and Comprehensive View of Christianity*: and to these two works we must refer for an illustration of the differences between his party and the rest of the Nonjurors. Certain practices are enjoined in *The Devotions*, which are explained and defended in the other work: and the two together furnish a distinct view of the points at issue between these two parties. The one work bears upon the other in a singular manner, since the practices prescribed in the *Prayer Book* are explained in *The Comprehensive View*.^h It is true, that on the question of the Oaths, both parties were agreed: but the principles of the *Separatists*, in many important particulars, were different from those of the other body.

^g Campbell was doubtless the nominal leader of this section, until his death, which took place in 1744: but as Deacon was the most active of the party, I am justified in speaking of him as the real leader even before Campbell's death.

^h This work indeed is a regular commentary on the Book of Devotions, just as Wheatley's or Nichols's volumes are comments on the Book of Common Prayer. A reason is assigned for the various ceremonies contained in the Collection of Devotions.

Deacon's new Service Book contained an *Order for Morning Prayer*, and an *Order for Evening Prayer*, altogether different in structure from the Book of Common Prayer, to which the regular Nonjurors adhered. These Offices are so unlike the Services in the Anglican Book, that the original leaders of the Nonjuring separation could not possibly have sanctioned them. They were consequently rejected by all, except by Deacon's own party. After the *Order for Morning and Evening Prayer* there are *Prayers for the Catechumens, the Energumens, the candidates for Baptism, and the Penitents*. The *Energumens* were persons supposed to be possessed by evil spirits : and certain Prayers are appointed to be used by the Priest with special reference to such an opinion.

The next form is called the *Penitential Office*, and was appointed to be used on *Wednesdays and Fridays*, and on other specified occasions : and it is ordered, that none should be present, except the Faithful and the Penitents. Next in order stands *The Communion Office*, which not only differs from our own, but also from the Book of 1718.ⁱ The designation even of the Office is peculiar, differing from that of the Nonjurors, as well as from our own : and by a special Rubric none but the Faithful were permitted to be present at the administration. In addition to the mixture of water with the wine, the Priest is directed to sign his forehead with the sign of the cross—to administer the elements to *the Deaconesses*, and also to *Infants*, saying simply “ *The Body of Christ*, and “ *The Blood of Christ, the cup of Life.*” Deacon, it

ⁱ The title is as follows : “ The Holy Liturgy : or, the Form of Offering the Sacrifice, and of Administering the Sacrifice of the Eucharist.”

seems, was as much dissatisfied with the Book, which had been arranged by Collier and Brett, as with the Office in the Book of Common Prayer ; and therefore, he put forth a new Form, to be used by those congregations in which his authority was recognized.^k

In “ *The Order of Confirmation* ” and “ *The Order for the Visitation of the Sick*,” Deacon differs from the Church of England, and also from the other Nonjurors. The Chrism is adopted, as in the Book of 1718, and the rite is ordered to be administered to infants.¹

The remaining Public Offices in this collection

^k A most laboured defence of the practice of infant communion may be seen in *The Comprehensive View*. He contends, that among the heathen, infants partook of the idolatrous feasts after the sacrifices. He proceeds : “ The Eucharist is a feast upon a sacrifice, and it is designed to distinguish those who belonged to Christ, as the others were to distinguish those who belonged to the false gods of the heathen.” He asks : “ Had the Devil his meat and his cup to betoken those, who had communion with him, and has Christ his meat and his cup to betoken those, who are in communion with him ? and is it reasonable to suppose, that he intended these should be as generally received by his family, as the others were by that of the Devil ?” He further argues at considerable length in favour of the practice, from the fact, that the Old Testament Sacraments, as he terms them, were allowed to infants. He contends, that the Jewish children partook of the Feasts, and of the Passover : that the arguments for infant communion are as strong as those for infant baptism : and that it was practised in the early Church, pp. 366, 393.

¹ At the commencement of the Service is the following Rubric : “ At the time appointed, all that are to be then confirmed, being placed, the adults and the sponsors with the children in their arms standing in order before the Bishop, he shall begin the office.” In his *Comprehensive View*, Deacon contends, that infants are capable of receiving spiritual benefits, and that therefore Confirmation is to be administered to them, p. 238.

are "*The Ministration of Public Baptism*;" "*The Ministration of Private Baptism*;" "*The Churching of Women*;" "*The Order for the Burial of the Dead*;" "*The Communion at the Burial of the Dead*;" and "*The Form of Consecrations*;" all of which differ very widely from our own.

Public Baptism is only allowed between Easter and Pentecost. The sign of the Cross, a Form of Exorcism, the anointing with oil, and the Trine Immersion are enjoined. A portion of consecrated milk and honey, and white garments, as an emblem of innocency, were given to each child.^m In the case of adults, the Priest was to retire, while the candidates were placed in the water, the males by the Deacons, the females by the Deaconesses. A Form for consecrating the milk and honey is appended to the office.ⁿ In

^m "This dipping does very significantly express the three great effects of Baptism: for as immersion necessarily implies three several states or conditions; the descent into the water, the being totally covered with it, and the rising out of it again: so by these are represented Christ's death, burial, and resurrection: and in conformity thereto our dying unto sin, the destruction of its power, and our resurrection to a new course of life. By the person's descending into the water, is livelyly represented his going down to the grave, and dying to sin: by his being totally covered with it, which is a kind of burial in the water, is denoted his being absolutely in the power of death, &c. and then by his emersion or rising up out of the water, is signified his entering upon a new course of life." He explains the trine immersion to represent the Trinity, and the three days burial of Christ, and his resurrection on the third day. Deacon's Comprehensive View, p. 231. He explains the white garments to signify "his having put off the lusts of the flesh." Ibid. 232.

ⁿ Deacon thus explains the milk and honey. "After the kiss of peace he receives a taste of consecrated milk and honey, in token of his spiritual infancy, that, now he is a child adopted into God's family, for sweet milk is the nourishment of new born babes." Ibid. 232.

Private Baptism, which was to be administered only in cases of necessity, the water was to be poured on the infant. As Deacon maintained the doctrine of Infant Communion, the Eucharist was ordered to be administered to the sick child.

In the Office for Churching of Women, there is not any material variation from our own Form : while in the Burial Service, the alterations consist chiefly of additions of prayers for the departed. The Form for “ *the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist at the Burial of the Dead* ” differs in several particulars from that in the First Prayer Book of King Edward.

The last of the Public Offices, the Service for Ordinations and Consecrations, is peculiar, especially as one part relates to Deaconesses. The sign of the cross is retained ; the kiss of peace is also enjoined to be given by Bishops to the new Bishop, by the Bishop and Presbyters to a Priest, and by the Deacons to a Deacon. The service for Deaconesses is nearly similar to that for Deacons.*

The second part of the collection consists of Private Devotions. There are Devotions for the Morning : the Evening : for the ancient Hours of Prayer : to

* Alluding to the Deaconesses, Deacon says that their office “ is to assist at the baptism of women, that the ceremony may be performed with all possible decency : to instruct (in private) children and women who are preparing for baptism : to visit and attend women that are sick and in distress : to overlook the women in the Church : and to introduce any woman who wants to make application to a Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop.” He states that the order was always received in the Ancient Church. Comprehensive View, p. 429. Elsewhere he says “ that all occasion of scandal and immodesty may be prevented in so sacred a mystery as baptism, men and women are baptized apart : and the latter have Deaconesses to attend them, to undress, and dress them, &c.” Ibid. 231.

be used in the Church and at the Altar. There are also Offices for daily Private Communion, and for the Commemoration of the Dead. The Office for Private Communion contains a Form for a sick person to administer the sacrament to himself, the elements being reserved from the public administration.^p

By the adoption of this book of Offices, Deacon's party, even apart from their irregular consecrations, was altogether at variance with the other, in the mode of celebrating Divine Service. But Deacon was not satisfied even with this new collection: for in the year 1746, he published, though without his name, another small volume, consisting of several special Forms, in which he departed still further from the other Nonjurors.^q

The Form *for admitting converts* is much stronger in its expressions and requirements, than that which had been drawn up by Kettlewell, and which had been always used by the other party. The Chrism and the sign of the cross were enjoined in such cases. The Litany was to be used on certain specified occasions.

This account of the Offices adopted by the *Separatists* is sufficient to mark the striking differences between

^p It may be remarked that the *Chrism*, the *Milk and Honey*, the *Balsam*, the *Kiss of Peace*, with the other ceremonies in the Collection of Devotions, are all explained in the Comprehensive View.

^q The Form of admitting a Convert into the Communion of the Church. London, Printed in the year 1746. The volume contains also *A Litany for the Use of those who mourn for the Iniquities of the Present Times*. *Prayers to be used upon the Death of Members of the Church*: and, *An Office for the Use of those who by unavoidable necessity are deprived of the advantage of joining in offering the Sacrifice, and of receiving the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist*!

them and the Nonjurors of the regular body, who adhered strictly, with the exception of the Book of 1718, to the worship of the Anglican Church. It must strike the reader very forcibly, that all these differences would have been avoided, if the Nonjurors had followed the advice of Ken, or the example of Dodwell and Nelson. But the bitterness of feeling, under which many of them laboured, had greatly increased as early as the period of Ken's resignation to Hooper. Even before his resignation, he seems to have been anxious, that the schism should be closed. Writing to Hickes, he says, "I wrote to you not long ago, to recommend to your serious consideration, the schism which has so long continued in our Church, and which I have often lamented to my brother of Ely, now with God, and concerning which, I have many years had ill abodings." At this time the Clergy had made a noble stand in defence of the Church, and Ken imagined, that, in consequence, the breach might be healed. He, therefore, recommends Hickes to consult Bishop Lloyd, Dr. Smith, Wagstaffe, and Dodwell. Framp-ton he excepts, partly on account "of his remoteness" and "partly because he never interrupted communion with the Jurors, which has been the practice also of our friends at Cambridge." He suggested a meeting with Hooper, then the prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation; but it is clear that no such interview ever occurred. In this Letter even, dated in the year 1700, Ken suggests his own and Lloyd's resignation; and further, that they should print a circular letter, declaring that their views remained the same, but that, to restore the peace of the Church, they were willing to resign. He thought, that such a Letter would enable them

to attend the public prayers without being misunderstood.^r It is singular, that this Letter should have been written to Hickes, the man who laboured more than any other to prevent the closing of the breach, after Lloyd's death.

It appears, that even Lloyd himself had some such thoughts, on the death of King William; for he wrote, begging Ken to repair to London "in this nice conjunction of affairs," to assist them with his counsel.^s Subsequently, when Ken actually resigned to Hooper, he was much censured by some of the party. "The Jacobites at Bristol," says he, "fomented by those at London, are thoroughly enraged against me for my cession to one, whom all mankind besides themselves have a high esteem of." It seems that some one had previously solicited Ken to adopt clandestine consecrations. "If I should produce the frequent letters, a certaine person wrote to me, for near two yeares together, to importune me to consent to clandestine consecrations, they would discover the temper of the man, and the zeal he shewed to make the schism incurable, which I was always for moderating, foreseeing how fatall it would prove."^t This was written to Lloyd, who then approved of the step taken by Ken, though he afterwards endeavoured to retract his approval. In a subsequent Letter, Ken, alluding to the conduct of the Bristol people, says, "Though you are pleased to tell me, that others kindled this fire, and not yourself, I must take the freedom to tell you, that it is you yourself have most contributed to it. For it is still vehemently

^r Ken's Prose Works, by Round, 8vo. 1838, where this Letter is published for the first time, pp. 49-50.

^s Ibid. p. 55.

^t Ibid. p. 69.

urged against me, that I acted quite contrary to your earnest remonstrances, which you know to be false: If I did, I do not remember that I ever put myself into your keeping, and was to do nothing but by your direction: but you yourself can acquit me in that particular, by only relating matter of fact." Ken then quotes Lloyd's own words, in which he had expressed his approval of his resignation, and adds: "No, good Brother, your native thoughts were the same with mine, but when you heard a cry against me, you flew to the distinction of person and session."^u

From these letters, it is clear, that Lloyd, had he been left to his own judgment and feelings, would have acted with Ken, and thus the schism would have ceased: but he was prevailed upon by others, among whom no doubt Hickes acted a prominent part, to retrace his steps, and to discountenance Ken in the matter of the resignation. But though it is to be regretted, that such a course was not pursued, yet it must not be supposed, that the Nonjurors, after Lloyd's death, were unable to plead any thing in justification of their conduct. The previous pages will prove the contrary. As an individual, I regret that all did not concur with Dodwell: and I have less sympathy with the *second* than with the *first* generation of Nonjurors: but I cannot join in an indiscriminate sentence of condemnation. On the contrary, I have done justice to their memory in this volume, having endeavoured to rescue it from those groundless charges, with which it has on many occasions been loaded by persons, who cannot be

^u Ken's Prose Works, by Round, 8vo. 1838.

compared with the Nonjurors, either in learning or piety.

In reviewing the period embraced in this volume, the unbiassed reader must be struck with the important services rendered, by the Nonjurors, to the religion and the literature of our country. He who imagines that, when the danger from popery was averted by the elevation of King William to the throne, the Anglican Church was exposed to no further perils, is greatly mistaken in the opinion which he has formed. It has been shewn, that a Latitudinarian spirit came in with the Revolution, obtaining a strong hold of some of the principal actors of that period, both in Church and State. Tillotson, and Stillingfleet, and Kidder, as well as Burnet, together with many other estimable men, were strongly influenced by this dangerous leaven. Against this system the Nonjurors made a noble stand: and providentially the majority of the complying clergy united with them, in resisting the innovations, which otherwise would have been introduced. By their united efforts, the Anglican Church was rescued from the danger, by which she was threatened, and which, had it not been averted, would speedily have reduced her to a mere state establishment. She nobly withstood the shock of Romanism in the reign of King James: and, by the conduct of her Clergy, she was delivered from the danger, not less imminent than the former, arising from Latitudinarian indifference. When we remember, that she was assailed by professed friends, as well as by open enemies—by Latitudinarian Churchmen and Dissenters united in one common league against her sacred institutions—we cannot but feel grateful to Almighty

God, for preserving the Church in her integrity amidst the shocks consequent upon the Revolution. It cannot be denied, that King William was indifferent, whether Episcopacy or Presbytery prevailed in England: many of his supporters entertained similar views: and even some of the Bishops did not regard their own sacred order as necessary to the constitution of the Church. Happily the great body of the Clergy were attached to the Church, though they had renounced their allegiance to King James. Accordingly they rallied round the Church, when the dangers appeared: and the Prelates, who contemplated many serious changes, were thwarted in their designs, by their own Clergy. Between the regular Nonjurors and the great mass of the Clergy, there were no differences of opinion on any other subjects than those of the Oaths and the *Usages*. On all Church questions they were united. Alive to the danger by which the Church was menaced, by that latitudinarian spirit which regarded discipline and government as matters to be set aside at pleasure, the Clergy united in opposing all innovations in either, as well as any alterations in the Book of Common Prayer. Had all the Bishops entertained the same views as Burnet, and had the Clergy generally concurred in opinion with the minorities in the Lower House of Convocation, in the reign of King William, we should not now have been permitted to worship God, in our parish Churches, with an unmutated Prayer Book. A spirit was brought in with the Revolution, which, had it not been restrained, would have introduced most material changes in our Liturgy, our Articles, and our Ecclesiastical government: and it becomes all the friends of the

Anglican Church to be thankful, that the evils to which I have alluded were mercifully averted. *

But though the danger was averted by the sound and orthodox portion of the Clergy, yet the latitudinarian leaven was not completely cast out. It was restrained from effecting any organic changes, but it remained in the Church, working its way among some of the Clergy. A new school of Theology arose, which exercised considerable influence, and the more so from the support which it received oftentimes from the Government. The leaders of this school were men of learning, of moderation, and of piety, but being Erastian in theory, they were ready to remodel every thing connected with the Church—her ceremonies, her discipline, and the Book of Common Prayer. They would have proposed many changes, if they had not been restrained by the great body of the Clergy, who were resolved to maintain the Church in her integrity.

For a series of years, some of the Rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer have been, not universally, but to a considerable extent, neglected. The Clergy, in many cases, have not observed them, as they have not been enforced by the Bishops. It may, therefore, be asked, to what causes is this neglect to be attributed? My own opinion is, that two causes, especially connected with the period to which this volume refers, may be assigned. These are, *first*, the Latitudinarian spirit of which I have spoken, and *secondly*, the practices of the Nonjurors.

* Some persons at the period of, and subsequent to, the Revolution, had no better reason to assign for their partial conformity to the Anglican Church, than the fact, that it was established by Act of Parliament; nor is the race extinct in the present day.

With regard to the *first*, it may be observed, that the individuals, who adopted the Latitudinarian principles, which allowed of so much laxity in all matters of discipline and ceremonies, would by no means be anxious to conform to the Rubrics. Yet it was from this class, that the bishoprics and dignities of the Church were generally supplied for some years after the Revolution. Those, who held such principles, were not ready as Clergymen to practise, nor as Bishops to enforce conformity. Hence arose a variety in practice. The Clergy, who wished to preserve the Church in her integrity, complied with all her regulations : while the men, who in 1689 had sanctioned the alterations adopted by the Ecclesiastical commission, were not likely to adhere very strictly to ceremonies, which they had sought to abolish. Laxity on the part of some of the Bishops, and indifference on the part of some of the Clergy, were the consequences : and the parties, who advocated changes, soon ceased to comply with certain Rubrics, when their diocesans considered their breach as meritorious as their observance. The men, who were disappointed in not getting their proposed changes introduced, when promoted to high stations, were not very ready to enforce a compliance with Rubrics which they did not observe themselves.^y

^y Ken's fears relative to the Latitudinarian tendencies of the age caused him to rejoice at the appointment to the See of Bath and Wells of Hooper, to whom he readily resigned his own claims, as a man, who he believed would check the evil. There are several instances of Ken's fears on this subject, in the Letters not long since published. Writing to Lloyd; he says : " You cannot imagine the universal satisfaction expressed for Dr. Hooper's coming to my See : and I make no doubt, but that he will rescue the Diocese

The *second* cause was not less operative in producing a neglect of some of the Rubrics, namely, the practices of the Nonjurors. That the Nonjurors were conscientious and scrupulous men is evident from the fact, that a regard to an oath led them to sacrifice station, influence, and worldly substance. The same feeling respecting oaths and pledges influenced them in all their actions. They had taken an oath to King James, and they could not violate it. They had also pledged themselves to strict conformity, and they could not break their pledge. Consequently, all the injunctions of the Church were strictly observed by these conscientious and upright men. Such conduct, therefore, on the part of the Nonjurors, was calculated to make the Latitudinarian section of the Clergy still more averse to strict conformity. Many of the Bishops, during several years, were indifferent about conformity: and as the Nonjurors were exceedingly particular in such matters, some of the Prelates did not scruple to let certain practices enjoined by the Church fall into comparative neglect. At a later period, when the

from the Apostacy from "the faith once delivered to the Saints," which at present threatens us, and from the spirit of Latitudinarianism, which is a common sewer of all heresies imaginable." Ken's Prose Works, p. 81. He was also encouraged by the course adopted by the Lower House of Convocation, thinking, as has been mentioned, that the schism might in consequence be healed. Thus in one of his recently published Letters, he says: "As for the schism, I believe I can propose a way to end it, but it is not practicable till the Convocation meets, and then if the face of affairs alter not, I make no question but Erastianism will be condemned, which by some of us has been proposed as a means of re-union." Ibid. 57. The plan to which he alludes was the resignation of himself and Lloyd, as was previously noticed.

Nonjurors adopted the *Usages*, and still later, when Deacon introduced ceremonies, which had never been recognized in the Anglican Church, the cry of Popery was raised even against some of the most excellent of the Clergy, while the laudable customs of the Church were neglected, lest, as it was ignorantly pretended, it should be supposed, that there was some foundation for such an unreasonable charge. To avoid the imputation of popery, some of the weak among the Clergy went into the other extreme, just as some in the present day, in their horror of Rome, rush into a state of schism and error not less dangerous than Popery. And it is well known how difficult it is to revive a practice after it has been discontinued. When, therefore, other Prelates, who were anxious to enforce conformity, came into dioceses in which inconformity had been permitted, they found it difficult to depart from the practice of their predecessors. Thus the irregularities became perpetuated; and though there ever were many Clergymen, who adhered to the Rubrics, yet compliance was by no means general.

These causes combined produced, by slow degrees, that state of things which at present exists. While some complied with the Rubrics, they were neglected by others. And as the Bishops, for some years after the Revolution, were selected from the school of Tillotson and Burnet, the Clergy who were irregular were as much countenanced as those who conformed in obedience to their vows. The result was a very extensive disuse of some of the Rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer.

At the last Review of the Liturgy in 1661 all the important directions of the previous Book were carefully considered. After all the objections alleged by

the Presbyterian party had been weighed, our present Rubrics were duly sanctioned by the authority of the Church. Nor was there any material deviation from the letter, until after the Revolution. The attempt to introduce alterations in 1689 failed, so that the Government did not even venture to submit the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commission to Convocation: but the spirit, which prompted that attempt, produced, in subsequent years, indifference in principle and laxity in practice.

About the middle of the last century, the fruits of the Latitudinarian leaven were evidenced in an attempt by certain Clergymen, to procure such a revision of the Liturgy as would have opened the door to persons of almost all creeds. Happily the effort was unsuccessful, and the Liturgy and the Articles were preserved unimpaired. Yet these parties remained in the Church, though only a partial compliance with the Rubrics was observed.

For several years matters have been greatly improving. A large majority of the Clergy are anxious to comply with their solemn pledges. Some indeed there are who violate their promises without scruple: but happily the number is daily decreasing.

In considering the question therefore of the Rubrics, I shall *first* allude to those obvious irregularities which no honest man can justify; and *secondly*, to those Rubrical observances, which have been for a long time, not universally, as some would insinuate, but extensively neglected.

It cannot be concealed, that many of the objectors to the practices, which I shall consider under the second division, are notoriously irregular in other matters, which cannot be classed among disused or neglected Rubrics, matters which are observed by all consistent

churchmen, and which cannot honestly be disregarded. Some of these may now be specified.

There are Clergymen who pretend, that they cannot read an Apocryphal lesson—who allege that their consciences will not permit them to do so. But it may be asked, how came such men in the Church? or why do they remain in a Church which enjoins the reading of such lessons? But whether they read or omit these chapters, they have by their subscription assented to the lawfulness of the practice. They have solemnly promised to read the Apocryphal Lessons at such times as they are appointed by the Church: and where is the difference, on the ground of conscience, between reading the chapters and declaring an assent to the Books? Then, surely, the violation of a solemn promise is a more heinous sin than reading an Apocryphal chapter. The men, who cannot read these Books, should not make the promise: they should avoid the Church altogether. No right-minded person can allow the plea of conscience to be set up in such a case. As long therefore as individuals remain within her pale, the plea must be regarded as a mere pretence to cover their dishonesty, in making a promise which they never intended to keep. Their sincerity can only be proved by their secession.

It is usually alleged, by those who object to the use of the Apocryphal Books, that they do not read them, because they are not canonical Scripture. This objection should be thought of before ordination: it would also justify any one, who entertained it, in quitting the Church: but it cannot be used, for not reading an Apocryphal chapter, by a man, who has solemnly promised that he will comply with all the regulations of the Book of Common Prayer, to which

he has given his unfeigned assent and consent. Besides, how can a man declare his assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles, if he cannot read these Books? The man, who subscribes the Articles and the Prayer Book, without intending to read only such lessons as the Church appoints, is obnoxious to the charge of dishonesty.

But the parties, who object to these Books on the ground of their want of Canonicity, though they have promised to read them, might, with quite as much reason, object to a sermon of their own, which is quite as destitute of Canonicity. Yet the objectors are usually persons who make their own Sermons a matter of great importance, though in every one of their productions there are necessarily sentiments and expressions, which could not be justified, and which, in many cases, are much further from the truth than any thing in the Apocrypha.*

It is remarkable, too, that such objectors are generally the persons who are guilty of other irregularities,

* The Answer of the Bishops to the exceptions of the Presbyterians, previous to the last review of the Book of Common Prayer, is so admirably suited to the present times, that it ought to be quoted. The Presbyterians objected, the Bishops replied as follows. "As they would have no saints' days observed, so no Apocryphal chapter read in the Church, but upon such a reason as would exclude all sermons as well as Apocrypha: viz. because the Holy Scriptures contain in them all things necessary either in doctrine to be believed, or in duty to be practised. If so, why so many unnecessary sermons? Why any more but reading of scriptures? If their fear be, that by this means those Books may come to be of equal esteem with the canon, they may be secured against that by the title which the Church hath put upon them, calling them Apocryphal." *History of Nonconformity*, 8vo. 1704. pp. 235, 236.

such as omitting or mutilating some of the Prayers, shortening the occasional services, and even changing the Sunday Lessons, which are always canonical Scripture. Such dishonest evasions and practices, however, are confined to comparatively few : and the number must soon be diminished by the operation of the Church Discipline Bill, by which the Diocesan is enabled in a summary way to correct these irregularities. It is indeed in the power of the parishioners to see that the Clergy are consistent, in such clear cases as those to which I have referred : for whenever a Clergyman is reported to the Bishop for violating express and obvious Rubrics, a commission of inquiry must be issued. Nor should the parishioners be deterred from doing their duty, by any pretence of unkindness to the Clergyman : for surely it is an act of greater kindness to prevent a man from violating solemn vows and promises, than, by silence, to encourage him in a dishonest practice.^y The Rubrics and the Calendar are as much a part of the Book to which the Clergy subscribe, as the various services which it contains : and the man, who urges the plea of Conscience for non-compliance, is guilty of dishonesty in subscribing to regulations which he never intended to follow.^z

^y I can see no difference between the man who subscribes to the Thirty-nine Articles, when at the same time he rejects some of their doctrines, and the man who subscribes to all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and then refuses to comply with his solemn pledges—both are equally dishonest.

^z Those persons who systematically violate the Rubrics, would do well to ponder the following passage. “ And that whosoever among the Clergy either adds to it, or diminishes from it, or useth any other rule instead of it, as he is in the eye of the law a non-conformist, so it behoves him to consider with himself whether in point of conscience he be not a breaker of his word and trust, and

But, *Secondly*, there are other Rubrics, which, from the causes already stated, are more generally disregarded. When a Clergyman is in doubt respecting the meaning of a Rubric, the Church refers him to the Ordinary, whose decision is the law in that particular case. The Bishop may refer the matter to the Archbishop: but the decision of either, possessing the force of a Rubric, is binding. It is not in the power of a Bishop to dispense with any Rubric: he may recommend a Clergyman not to revive a practice, which, though enjoined, has been long discontinued, and the Diocesan's wish would not be likely to be disregarded: but still he cannot interfere so as to prevent compliance with anything positively enjoined, though it may have fallen into disuse. There is no power to dispense with disused Rubrics, should a Clergyman revive them, though a Bishop may not himself see it necessary to enforce them.^a It seems necessary to notice this distinction in the present day:

an eluder of his engagements to the Church." Sharp, pp. 8, 9. Such persons are very expert in charging others with a want of spiritual knowledge: but I cannot admit, that men, who make no conscience of vows and pledges, can either be considered as being spiritually minded themselves, or as judges of their brethren. The more spiritually minded a man is, the more anxious will he be to keep his pledges.

^a "I must observe to you in general," says Archdeacon Sharp, "that no custom, however confirmed, can take place against them: (*the Rubrics*) that we cannot transfer our breaches of them into the list of approved practices, nor justify our neglect of them, by pleading the connivance, or, if you will, the approbation of our superiors. It is true, the Ordinary may forbear to blame, and he may neglect to reform, any customable deviations from, or any open defiances of, express and positive Rubrics. But as he hath no power to alter them, or to dispense with alterations made in them, so he cannot excuse or discharge us from our obligations to conform ourselves to them." Sharp on the Rubric, 97.

since many persons, who deny the Bishop's authority to revive, imagine that he is able, by merely issuing his command, to prevent the Clergy from reviving a neglected practice: and from not attending to this distinction, no small degree of confusion has arisen.

The questions, however, respecting which a division of opinion now especially exists, relate to the Use of the Surplice in the Pulpit, the Prayer for the Church Militant, and the Offertory when there is no Communion. In discussing these points, I shall confine myself strictly to the intentions of the Church, and to the meaning of the Rubrics, without reference to the question of the expediency of their revival. In my opinion the law of the Church is clear and express in each particular.

Undoubtedly it is a matter of indifference in itself whether the surplice or the gown be worn in the pulpit; and it is clear, that if the surplice is Popish in one part of our public services, it must be equally so in all: and in that case the Church of England is so committed, that nothing but the rejection of the vestment by Convocation can rescue her from the charge of favouring Popery. This consequence is inevitable, on the principle of those who pretend that the use of a particular vestment in a particular place—a vestment too used on all other occasions—indicates a tendency towards Rome. Yet this unreasonable sentiment has been very gravely put forth, though by persons little competent to give an opinion on such a subject. By the Puritans the surplice was branded as Popish, in the desk as well as in the pulpit: and there was a consistency, at all events, in their course, for they wished to abolish its use altogether. In the present day, however, there is no controversy respecting its use, except in the pulpit: but there is a

sufficient reason for not alluding to its adoption in the public services, namely, that to do so would deprive the objectors of the character of Churchmen. Yet, from the tone adopted by many persons, it is evident that they rather sympathize with the Puritans, than with the Church, in this matter. To argue that the surplice, the vestment appointed by the Church for her most solemn ministrations, is the badge of a party, indicates the most lamentable ignorance, or the greatest obstinacy : for the allegation is nothing less than a charge against the Church herself. The question, therefore, is not whether the surplice be the badge of a party, but whether a Clergyman, who uses it in the pulpit, as well as in the desk, violates the laws and injunctions of the Church.^b

That the Public Services cannot be celebrated except in the surplice, is admitted : but the Church neither prescribes nor sanctions the use of the gown in any part of her ministrations : and the only authority that can be pleaded in its favour is that of custom. If then the use of the gown be not enjoined by the Church in any way whatever, it would follow, if the surplice must not be used, that any vestment might be adopted. As the gown is nowhere prescribed, while the surplice is enjoined in all public ministrations, the objectors to the use of the latter in the pulpit must either resort to the plea of custom, or admit that the Church intended to leave the dress of the preacher indifferent, though in all her services a particular vestment is expressly enjoined. But if the matter be left to the preacher's choice, he is

^b In the diocese of Durham the surplice was constantly used by every preacher in the pulpit in 1753, when Archdeacon Sharp published his Charges. Sharp on the Rubric, p. 246.

certainly as much at liberty to use the one as the other.

As a question of law, however, the matter is, I think, settled by the Rubrics, though the surplice is not actually specified. The Morning Service is to be read in the surplice, to the end of the Nicene Creed. Then follows the sermon. Singing is not prescribed: consequently singing was not intended at that part of the service, and it has only been introduced in order to allow the officiating minister to repair to the vestry. After sermon, the minister is to return to the Lord's Table, and read the Prayer for the Church Militant. This also must be read in the surplice. Now, as the Church does not prescribe singing, either before or after sermon, so as to allow of any pause for a change of dress, it appears scarcely possible to conceive, whatever the practice may be, that the surplice was not intended to be used in the pulpit, as well as at the communion table. As time is not allowed for a change of robes, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion, that one and the same dress was intended to be used throughout.

And why should a priest officiate in two dresses rather than a Bishop, who performs all the offices of the Church in the same habit. Whether he read prayers or preach, his dress is the same: and as the Church has not prescribed a second in the case of the Clergy, it is reasonable to suppose that she only contemplated one.^c

^c In College chapels, at least such is the case in Oxford, whenever a sermon is preached, the surplice is invariably used. If then the argument, that the Clergy are to preach in their academic dress, be sound, we might expect to see the adoption of the practice in the University. Yet it is only in the University Church, where the sermon is preached without the usual service, the audience

But whatever may be said against the use of the surplice in the pulpit, it cannot be denied that the Prayer for the Church Militant is to be read immediately after sermon, and in the same dress as was used in the former part of the service. To escape, therefore, from the difficulty, this prayer has been altogether omitted : and thus one irregularity is followed by another. Undoubtedly the prayer has been omitted, because it was inconvenient to change the gown for the surplice. Yet this very inconvenience supplies a strong argument in favour of the use of the surplice : for we may rest assured that when the regulation was made, no difficulty was experienced. It is incumbent on those, who contend that the Church never intended the surplice to be used for preaching, to explain this difficulty, and not to cut the knot by omitting the prayer. It is not sufficient to introduce a psalm or hymn : for though the unseemliness of keeping a congregation in silence, while the Clergyman is changing his robes, is thereby avoided, yet the difficulty is not removed, since no singing is prescribed at that particular time. If, however, it were intended, as I think is clear, that the whole should be performed in the same habit, that habit must be the surplice, since the gown was never enjoined by the Church.^d

having previously attended Morning Prayers in their respective chapels, that the gown is used.

^d I do not say that it would be desirable, as some persons are so strongly opposed, to enforce the observance of the Rubrics, which are so generally neglected : but I cannot refrain from giving expression to my opinion, that, all things considered, the course adopted by the Bishop of London, in his Charge in 1842, was the wisest and the most consistent. Had his Lordship's recommendations been received, uniformity would have been secured in the

It is probable that some of the laity, who manifest so much sensitiveness on this subject, would, were they able, exclude the surplice from the desk, as well as from the pulpit. Their objections relate more to the thing itself, than to the place in which it is used. They can quietly witness obvious irregularities, such as changing the lessons, and mutilations in the Services; they can tolerate deviations from clear and express Rubrics; while all their virtuous feelings are aroused if a Clergyman, in obedience to his solemn vows, is particular in complying with the directions of the Church. How comes it to pass that they are so much more sensitive in the one case than in the other? Surely they would be equally sensitive in both cases, if they were influenced only by affection for the Church of England. It is evident that some of the complainants could readily dispense with the observance of many other Rubrics, as well as of those which are now the subject of dispute. Even the reading of the prayer for the Church Mili-

diocese, and a check would have been interposed to all innovations, whether in the way of addition or diminution. Nor can I avoid the conclusion, that those recommendations would have been quietly put in practice, if all the Clergy had been influenced by a regard for the welfare of the Church, and a desire to fulfil those pledges which are involved in their solemn engagements at ordination and institution. The laity would not trouble themselves about such matters, were they not secretly encouraged by some of the Clergy. It cannot be denied that the recommendations were agreeable to the injunctions of the Church: and as the Bishop of London was compelled, by the circumstances of the diocese, to pronounce an opinion, he could not have decided in opposition to Rubrics and Canons. It was not possible to maintain silence, because the Clergy on all sides were anxious for their diocesan to speak. He was obliged to speak according to the laws of the Church: and that he was right in his decisions is pretty clear from the fact that both the extreme parties were displeased.

tant is by some persons considered as an innovation, though no Rubric can be more clear or express than that by which it is enjoined; and the Clergy who use it are censured as verging towards Rome by men, who, though calling themselves Churchmen, are verging fast towards dissent.^e

The question of the Offertory may, as it appears to me, be settled as to the law (the expediency I have no wish to discuss,) by a simple reference to the Rubrics, taken in connexion with the history of the Book of Common Prayer, and those occasional forms which, from time to time, have been issued. It is asserted that the sentences are not to be read, nor the collection made, except when the Holy Communion is administered. Why the collection should be more appropriate at that time than on ordinary occasions, I cannot imagine. The Rubrics in the present book, taken in connexion with those in former books, appear to decide the question. That the Reformers intended a weekly collection, whether there were or were not a Communion, is certain: for in the Liturgy of 1549, the first of King Edward, the Offertory was expressly appointed to be read before the congregation dispersed.^f At the close of the service there is also a

^e Such objectors probably never attend divine service except on Sundays, or they would know that the Prayer for the Church Militant is always read on holy-days in all Churches and Chapels in which the festivals of the Church are observed. Every town, therefore, in the kingdom testifies of the practice on festivals, and why should the Sunday be excepted, when the Church places both on the same footing!

^f “While the clerks do sing the Offertory, so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor man’s box. Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the Quire, or in some convenient place nigh the Quire. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the Quire, except the ministers and clerks.” *Rubric, 1549.*

Rubric, which removes all manner of doubt respecting the use of the Offertory, when there was no Communion.^g

It becomes a question, therefore, seeing that the old Rubrics are decisive of the practices and intentions of the Reformers, whether any change in this respect has since been introduced. The present Rubric at the end of the Offertory enjoins: "While these sentences are in reading, the deacons, churchwardens, &c. shall receive the alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people." This is to be done, whether there be a Communion or not, since, by the very next Rubric, it is supposed at this point in the service to be uncertain, whether the administration will take place; for it stands thus: "When there is a Communion, &c." Up to this part of the Service, the Priest is not supposed to be certain, whether a sufficient number of persons will remain to admit of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Yet the alms are already collected: and thus it is clear that the collection is to be made without reference to the Communion. Then the Rubric at the close of the Office orders, that when there is no Communion, all the Service is to be used to the end of the Prayer for the Church Militant, including necessarily the Offertory.

But it has been argued that the Offertory is abolished by the introduction of the Poor Laws. The objections, however, which lie against this argument are fatal. When the Book of Common Prayer was reviewed in 1661, the Poor Laws were in existence:

^g "And though there be none to communicate with the priest, yet these days the priest shall put, &c. and say all things at the altar, (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper) until after the Offertory." *Rubric*, 1549.

yet the Rubrics respecting the Offertory were retained, though every part of the Service was carefully considered. Had the Convocation intended to abolish the Offertory, they would have rescinded the Rubrics by which it is enjoined. Besides, the argument derived from the Poor Laws would make against all Offertory collections, against those on Communion days, as well as those on other occasions. If the argument is of any force, it must go to prevent all such collections: so that, according to these objectors, the alms of the people could never be collected. This argument, therefore, cannot stand the test of the slightest examination, though it is most confidently put forth by its supporters.

The disposal of the offerings has also given rise to disputes, though the question appears to be clearly settled by the Rubrics. "The money given at the Offertory shall be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses as the minister and churchwardens shall think fit, wherein if they disagree, it shall be disposed of as the Ordinary shall appoint." It is clear that the money need not be all given to the poor: it is also clear that the minister and churchwardens are the judges: and provided the use to which it may be applied be a pious or charitable one, it is within the meaning of the law, and no one can interfere. Should the parties disagree, the sole disposal is in the Ordinary. It has been argued, that the pious and charitable uses are confined to the parish in which the alms are collected: but this is a mistake, for there is neither restriction nor limitation, and provided the minister and churchwardens agree in the disposal, or in case of their disagreement, the Ordinary is applied to, the decision is perfectly legal, whether the money be appropriated in the parish or

otherwise. As the Rubric is the law on the subject, and it contains no restrictive clause, the only question to decide, a question of very easy solution, is, what is intended by a pious and charitable use.^h

Considerable light is reflected on the whole subject of the Offertory, by the forms of prayer for special days of fasting and thanksgiving, which, from the period of the Reformation, were set forth at intervals.

It was the custom in these Forms to print the entire Service, at least to the period of the Revolution, even the Lessons, in order that the Clergy might use only one Book on such occasions. They prove, that the practice of reading the Daily Morning Service, the Litany, and the Communion Service, never varied from the days of Queen Elizabeth: for all of them are precisely similar in this respect, closing with the Prayer for the Church Militant. If then such a practice prevailed on these occasional days, there can be no doubt, that it was just the same on Sundays and other holy-days: for the directions in these special

^h When Archbishop Wake was appointed to the See of Lincoln, in the year 1707, he published the Farewell Sermon, which he had preached at James's, Westminster: and with the sermon is a curious folding sheet with an account of the expenditure of the Offertory money. "An account of the Offertory money in the parish of St James's, Westminster, as it stands upon our books for every year since I came to the parish." It comprehends the various years from 1694 to 1706 inclusive. The money was appropriated under the following items: "*Apprentices bound out yearly: Clothing the poor: Coals for the poor: For the poor at the Hospitals, chirurgeons and apothecaries: Disposed of in visiting the sick: The master for teaching the Offertory boys: The minister for reading the six o'clock prayers morning and evening.*" In this case the money was not all given to the poor. It is stated in the paper that certain sums were given to the poor at each public Sacrament, from which I infer, that the collection was made at other times, or on Sundays and other holy-days.

forms are precisely those of the Book of Common Prayer. These Services are, therefore, a most satisfactory comment on the Rubrics. By examining their structure, we ascertain the views of the Church from the period of the Reformation : and we find, that the Service was always performed in strict accordance with the Rubrics, as they stand in the Book of Common Prayer. In all these Forms, the Minister is directed to read the Morning Service to the end of the Litany : then follows the Communion Service : and after that the Sermon. The Minister is then directed to return to the Lord's Table, and after the Nicene Creed certain Offertory sentences are printed, the congregation being dismissed at the close of the Prayer for the Church Militant. Thus the manner of conducting Divine Service since the accession of Queen Elizabeth has ever been the same, as these Special Forms testify. The Communion was not administered on these occasions, yet some of the Offertory sentences were always read, for they are actually printed, and the Minister is directed to read them. Even as late as the last century, the Special Forms speak in a language not to be mistaken. In one of the date of 1714, just after the accession of George I. certain of the Offertory passages are printed with this Rubrical direction, "*Sentences at the Offertory:*" and in another in 1720, they are accompanied with the following Rubric : " After which for the Offertory shall these sentences be used."

It is not probable that the Minister changed his dress on these occasions. He is directed to proceed from the Lord's Table to the Pulpit, and to return and commence with the Prayer for the Church Militant, without any lengthened pause. He must on such occasions have preached in the surplice : and if

on such occasions, undoubtedly he did the same on Sundays and other holy days.

The actual printing and enjoining of the Offertory sentences, in all these forms, may, at all events, be regarded as a recognition of the principle of the Offertory. Whether the alms were collected on these occasions or not, the intention of the Church, and also the right of the Clergy to make the collection, were recognized in the use of the Offertory sentences. Consequently, the introduction of the Offertory, when there is no Communion, is not an innovation, as is pretended by the opponents of the practice, but only a compliance with the Rubrics. It is now generally discontinued, except on Communion days; but it is as incumbent at one time as at another, if the intentions of the Church are to be regarded.

Whatever, therefore, may be the present practice respecting the Offertory: even though to disturb the prevailing custom were inexpedient: yet it must be granted, by those who understand the subject, or will take the trouble to examine it, that the Church enjoins the use of some of the Offertory sentences, with the collection of the alms, and other devotions of the people.

That the Communion Service, as far as to the end of the Prayer for the Church Militant, is to be read, on ordinary occasions, when there is no Communion, at the Lord's Table, has seldom been questioned: and it is with some degree of surprise, that I find a doubt on the subject entertained in a recent work.ⁱ

ⁱ How shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England. By J. C. Robertson, M. A. 8vo. London. The Presbyterians objected to reading the Service at the Communion Table,

To me the question appears to be so settled as to leave no room for doubt. After the sermon, the Priest is ordered to return to the Lord's Table to commence the Offertory : consequently he is supposed to have read the previous portions of the Service there, before he entered the Pulpit. No distinction in this respect is made between Communion and Non-Communion days. In the Occasional Forms to which I have referred, for seasons when no Communion was intended, the Minister was specially directed to stand at the north side of the Table, at the commencement of the second service : from which it must be evident, that such was the custom on Sundays and other holy days. Speaking of the Rubric, which orders the Minister to stand *at the north side of the Table*, Archdeacon Sharp observes, " which is to be understood even of that part of it which by another Rubric is appointed to be said, when there is no Communion." He also meets the case of large Churches, in which, when the Table stands at the east end of the Chancel, it may not be possible for the Minister to be heard by the people, remarking : "but then, pray let us observe that where this necessity for breaking through the Rubric cannot be pleaded by us : that is, where this service may be conveniently enough performed at the Table itself situated in the Chancel ; there will be no excuse for us for reading it in the desk. Where

and the Bishops urged the practice as primitive. The reply of the Presbyterians proves that both parties referred to non-communication days. " That all the Primitive Church used, when there was no Communion, to say service at the Communion-table, is a crude assertion, that must have better proof before we take it as convincing. To prove that they used it when there was a Communion, is no proof that they used it when there was none." History of Conformity, p. 237.

this Rubric cannot be observed, an absolute necessity must overrule the order : but no prescription of non-observance or customary neglect can avail to the setting it aside. It is true the Ordinary may connive at this customary neglect, but he cannot warrant, nor even excuse the minister in it, because he is bound by prior obligations of conformity, to obey the Church in what she commands in her Rubrics. And in all points where the Rubrics are plain and express, the Ordinary has no authority to release us from that obedience, as appears from the *Preface concerning the Service of the Church*, at the beginning of the Prayer Book. In which, though the Ordinary is allowed to interpret and determine the sense of the Rubric for us in all doubtful cases ; yet it is with this proviso, that he shall not order nor determine any thing *that is contrary to what is contained in the Service Book*. That is, in points that are clearly expressed, the Ordinary is as much prohibited from making innovations, as the meanest parochial Minister amongst us.”^k

I am not contending for the revival of practices, which may have long been neglected : but, when Laymen, who usually are not much acquainted with such matters, presume to dictate to Bishops, and to designate a compliance with the Rubrics an innovation, it becomes necessary to expose such attempts. With respect to the matters, which I have discussed, it may be remarked, that if a Clergyman feels it to be his duty to practise them, the Bishop cannot prevent him : yet the Laity, who interpose, appear to imagine, that our Prelates can issue orders against the letter of the Rubrics, merely because they have

^k Sharp, on the Rubric, pp. 65, 66, 68, 69.

been neglected. This is a mistake which ought not to be committed, yet they argue upon it, as though their position were indisputable. No Bishop can prevent a Clergyman from reading the Prayer for the Church Militant, from preaching in the Surplice, and from making a collection at the Offertory weekly. He may not enjoin these things, which he has the power to do : but he has no power to prohibit them. If therefore, a Bishop, who is as much confined by the law as the Clergy, makes any order, it must be an order for strict compliance with the letter of the Rubrics. He must do this, or he can do nothing. Were a Bishop to remain silent in such a diocese as London, for example, he would be reproached for pusillanimity : yet when he speaks, in obedience to the call of the Clergy, and delivers his judgment, as he necessarily must, in favour of strict compliance with the Rubrics, immediately his power is questioned, and an outcry is raised, from the mere circumstance of recommending obedience to the laws of the Church, as though some tremendous evil were impending. When, moreover, it is borne in mind, that the majority of those who raise the outcry, both Clergy and Laity, are not overscrupulous in complying with such Rubrics as have not fallen into disuse, an indifferent spectator can scarcely avoid the conclusion, that they cannot entertain any strong degree of attachment to other practices, which rest on precisely the same grounds, namely, the Rubrics, as those against which their hostility is directed. The objectors might be regarded as consistent, if they were scrupulous in other particulars ; but it is notorious, that many of the Clergy, who object, are lax in conforming to Rubrics, which a Bishop must enforce, should the cases be brought before him : while some of the

protesting laity can witness a change of Lessons, when no power is given to the Minister in such a matter, or even mutilations and omissions in some of the services, without a murmur or complaint; or even without manifesting any concern for the man, who can be so forgetful of his solemn vows and pledges.

Having detailed such particulars respecting the Nonjurors as I have been able to collect: and having also traced the neglect, into which some of the Rubrics have fallen, to the latitudinarian tendencies originating in the Revolution, and to the excesses of some of the Nonjurors, the subject must now be left to the reader's consideration. It has been my aim to present a just picture of the Nonjurors, together with a candid view of the times to which this volume refers. My opinions on certain matters, which necessarily fell under my notice, have been formed after much reflection and careful examination: and though I cannot expect every reader to concur with me, in the conclusions at which I have arrived, yet I am prepared to maintain, that they are justified by the facts on which they are grounded.



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